

Andropov: A Soft-Spoken Manner Belied Former KGB Chief's Tough Policies

By Kevin Klose
and Peter Osnos

Washington Post Service

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, who died Thursday at the age of 69, had a long career at the center of the Soviet security apparatus. He came to prominence by helping engineer a notorious betrayal nearly 25 years ago and then fashioned the KGB, the Soviet secret police, into a modern and effective foreign espionage agency that throughout the 1970s proved adept at stealing Western military secrets and advanced technology.

Mr. Andropov died after nearly six months of absence from public life because of an undisclosed illness. His disappearance created considerable uncertainty in the West over Soviet policy and speculation that Mr. Andropov was not really in charge. Apparently to counter this, the Soviet press was widely quoted in the Soviet press, and aides repeatedly emphasized that he was still making fundamental decisions.

Official Soviet versions of his illness concentrated on his having a cold, while foreign speculation spoke of kidney problems — one report said he had had a kidney transplant — or an ailment that affected his appearance and ability to talk.

The mark of Mr. Andropov's career was that he managed to preside over repression while creating a personal image of cool sophistication. As the Soviet ambassador to Hungary during the 1956 uprising there, as KGB chief in the late 1970s when the dissident movement was systematically crushed, and as party general secretary, Mr. Andropov never wavered from the Kremlin's intolerance of political deviation. Yet his soft-spoken manner, his intelligence and his bespectacled eyes created an impression of reasonableness that his actions never justified.

As Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev came to symbolize their eras as Soviet leaders, Mr. Andropov, even in his short tenure, symbolized his. It was a time of skillful Soviet manipulation of public opinion, especially in Western Europe, on the central issue of nuclear arms.

While continuing the buildup of Soviet strategic and conventional forces, Mr. Andropov succeeded in putting the United States on the defensive in disarmament debates.

The Kremlin's intervention in Afghanistan continued, its support for the suppression of the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland persisted and the flow of its weaponry to the Middle East widened.

Still, under Mr. Andropov's direction, the Soviet Union was more successful than ever before in its history at portraying the United

States as the greatest threat to world peace.

Mr. Andropov's short 15-month tenure in the Kremlin was also a period when relations with Washington were the coolest since the tense days of the Cold War in the 1950s.

Relations were already low — in large part because of President Ronald Reagan's virulent criticism of the Soviet system — when in September the shooting down by the Soviet Air Force of a civilian airliner and the loss of 269 people horrified Western public opinion.

The South Korean Boeing 747 disappeared on a flight from New York to Seoul on Sept. 1 after apparently straying into Soviet airspace. Later, the Soviet Union admitted that its air force had shot down the plane, with officials justifying the action by alleging that the plane was on an espionage mission, and offered no apology.

The Korean airliner incident prompted an angry meeting between Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Secretary of State George P. Shultz a week later. It was the start of an autumn of steadily worsening ties.

The decline in U.S.-Soviet relations reached their most ominous two months later, when Moscow carried out its threat to leave Geneva disarmament talks if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization went ahead with plans to de-

ploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

As new U.S. cruise and Pershing-2 missiles arrived in Europe, the Soviet negotiator to the talks walked out and later suspended parallel talks on long-range weapons and conventional forces. Both sets of talks on nuclear arms remained blocked up to Mr. Andropov's death.

It was one of the major ironies of recent political history that at the time Mr. Andropov took over the Communist Party leadership, several commentators in the West portrayed him as something of a liberal in Soviet terms. This reputation for relative moderation endured even after Mr. Andropov promoted long-time KGB operatives to increasingly sensitive positions, giving the organs of state security more influence over Soviet life than at any time since the days of Stalin.

In fact, despite many expert predictions, Mr. Andropov did not turn out to be a reformer in any significant respect. He did attempt to reduce corruption, improve work habits and bolster the economy. But all these were results of his zeal for orderliness, rather than any commitment to change.

Of his early life, little is known for certain. He was born June 15, 1914, near Stropol in the Caucasus, the son of a railroad worker. At various times from 1930 to 1932, he is said to have been a telegraph

worker, an apprentice film mechanic and a seaman, and at some point he graduated from a technical school for inland waterway workers.

By the mid-1930s, Mr. Andropov had become active politically, at first as a shipyard organizer for the Komsomol or Young Communist League. By 1938 he was first secretary of the Komsomol in the Yaroslavl region, northeast of Moscow, and in 1939, at 25, he became a regular Communist Party member.

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Mr. Andropov was a rising party functionary in Karelia, along Finland's eastern border. He spent 11 years there, from 1940 to 1951, apparently becoming a protégé of Otto Kuusinen, the party leader in the Karelian republic, and advancing to the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and a seat on the Supreme Soviet, the nominal parliament.

In 1951, Mr. Kuusinen, by then a member of the Politburo, brought Mr. Andropov to Moscow, where he became head of a political department serving the Central Committee. It was his first role at the center of Soviet power, under the eyes of Nikita S. Khrushchev's inner circle.

Mr. Andropov was 42 when his first major test suddenly burst upon him. It was the autumn of 1956 and he was Soviet ambassador to Hungary when an anti-Communist uprising brought former Prime Minister Imre Nagy to power in Budapest. A new coalition government declared Hungary neutral and non-Communist and withdrew from the newly formed Warsaw Pact.

Faced with the crisis, Mr. Andropov led tense secret Soviet efforts to set up a counter-regime under Janos Kadar, who is still Hungary's leader. Mr. Kadar appealed for Soviet intervention and Soviet troops and tanks, moving in against determined resistance by Hungarians, retook Budapest in bloody fighting.

Mr. Nagy sought sanctuary in the Yugoslav Embassy. After assurances from Soviet emissaries led by Mr. Andropov, he left the chancery believing the Soviet guarantees of his personal safety. But he was seized, taken to Romania and later brought back to Hungary, where he was tried for treason and executed.

In March 1957, Mr. Andropov was transferred to Moscow. In what could only be viewed as a warning to the Kremlin's restive bloc partners, he was promoted to head the Soviet Central Committee's Department of Relations with Communist Parties in Power — the bloc regimes.

In this role, he traveled frequently throughout Eastern Europe and took part in negotiations that failed



Yuri V. Andropov, second from left, helped to carry the coffin of Leonid I. Brezhnev in November 1982. In front of him is Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov; second from right is Konstantin U. Chernenko and at far right is Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

to prevent the Chinese-Soviet split. Even in 1968, after he had moved to the KGB, Mr. Andropov was at Leonid I. Brezhnev's side in the crisis meetings leading up to the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Although he had advanced under Khrushchev, Kremlin observers in the West believed that Mr. Andropov's true patron — his "hair arm," as Russians call influential power brokers — was Mikhail A. Suslov, who for nearly 30 years after Stalin's death in 1953 served as the Kremlin's hardline conservative ideologist.

Supporting this view was the fact that in May 1967, when Brezhnev moved against a Khrushchev hold-over who headed the KGB, Vladimir U. Semichastny, he chose Mr. Andropov as the new chief of the secret police. The move was a crucial step in the consolidation of Brezhnev's power under the tutelage of Mr. Suslov.

In a series of extraordinary moves six years later, Brezhnev completed this process. In April 1973, Mr. Andropov, together with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko, were elevated to full voting membership in the ruling Politburo.

Not since Stalin's era had a KGB chief been a full Politburo member, and not since Khrushchev's early years had the foreign and defense ministers been full members of the inner circle. When Marshal Grechko died a few years later his successor, Dmitri F. Ustinov, assumed full Politburo status. Thus, Brezhnev set in place the important

triumvirate that would rule after his own departure.

Mr. Andropov forged close, if not warm, ties to Brezhnev. For years the KGB chief lived in an apartment one floor above Brezhnev's at 24 Kutuzovskiy Prospekt in Moscow. On the floor below Brezhnev lived Interior Minister Nikolai A. Shchekolev, who ran the uniformed national militia. With so many top leaders in residence, the large apartment building was heavily guarded.

Most weekdays when he was not vacationing on the Black Sea, Brezhnev could be easily spotted in the front passenger seat of his shiny black ZIL limousine, speeding to and from the Kremlin. But Mr. Andropov remained an elusive figure, his comings and goings to the forbidding KGB headquarters at the Lubyanka in Dzerzhinsky Square near the Kremlin virtually unspotted by Westerners.

Begetting a Soviet espionage leader, Mr. Andropov had little contact with Westerners. About the only time he could be seen in person was at Kremlin sessions of the Supreme Soviet several times a year. Foreign correspondents spent long intervals peering through binoculars from the second-floor press gallery at the end of the ornate meeting hall for clues to the attitudes and relationships of the handful of old men who ran the country.

Throughout Brezhnev's later years, Mr. Andropov sat in the last, topmost row of the leadership, with Marshal Ustinov and Mr. Gromyko next to him. Amid the stolid, closed visages of the Soviet leader-

ship this trio was striking for the animation of their private conversations. Especially between Marshal Ustinov and Mr. Andropov, there seemed to be genuine warmth, befitting the two men who had the most in common as heads of the most powerful segments of the Soviet hierarchy, the military and the political police.

Mr. Andropov's occasional smiles and wry expressions relieved an otherwise remote cast to his face, which was marked by a prominent nose, full angular chin and pale, heavily lined eyes obscured behind slightly tinted spectacles.

He occasionally spoke out, as KGB chief, on national and international topics. Still, there was little clue during his 15-year stint that his views about the need for internal vigilance and surveillance to guard the country against dangerous Western ideas of free speech and democratic pluralism were any different from those of Mr. Suslov.

Mr. Andropov, however, proved far more adept than his predecessors at shaping totalitarian repression in a way that would not weaken the state's control over Soviet society but for the most part would evade severe Western condemnation of those repressions.

Mr. Andropov's more sophisticated leadership of the security system came at a time when the Brezhnev Kremlin was establishing détente and rapprochement with the West as its guiding foreign policy goal.

Faced with unrepentant activist writers throughout the 1970s, Mr. Andropov's KGB for the most part adopted a policy of banishing such

dissidents to the West. This softened the Kremlin's repressive image while effectively eliminating dissenting voices from the cultural scene.

The most famous exile of this era was Alexander Solzhenitsyn, but dozens of other creative artists were banished as well. The continuing impoverishment of Soviet culture is one of the many prices the Soviet security system under Mr. Andropov as KGB chief and Kremlin leader was willing to pay to maintain docility within the population.

Such leniency, however, was denied to a top Soviet scientist, Andrei D. Sakharov. Although a member of the Academy of Sciences and of the team that developed the Soviet hydrogen bomb, Mr. Sakharov, who was awarded the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize for his human rights work, was exiled without trial in 1980 to the city of Gorky, where foreign correspondents could no longer reach him.

Soviet officials said repeatedly that Mr. Sakharov would not be allowed to leave the country because, as a scientist, he was subject to security restrictions.

Mr. Andropov's final climb to the pinnacle of Soviet power was swift. When Soviet troops entered Afghanistan in December 1979, he was soon identified as one of a small "quick reaction group" that oversaw operations there.

In May 1982, after the death of his patron Mikhail Suslov, Mr. Andropov was named to his vacancy on the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and two days later he stepped down as head of the KGB, breaking a link that many Westerners thought had barred him from eligibility for the top rung.

In the last six months of Brezhnev's life, Western Kremlinologists discerned a backstage power struggle between Mr. Andropov and Brezhnev's closest follower, Konstantin U. Chernenko. But when Brezhnev died, in November 1982, the struggle, if any, was brief.

Inside the Kremlin, behind rows of massed troops, the Central Committee swiftly approved Mr. Andropov's nomination as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. The official announcement said that the nomination was made by Mr. Chernenko, and that the vote was unanimous. Western analysts deduced that the support of Mr. Gromyko and, particularly, Marshal Ustinov was decisive.

But uncertainty still prevailed. While Mr. Andropov started the last phase of his career on an apparently strong note by weeding out party and government officials suspected of corruption, his own frailty and prolonged illness soon created new anxieties and new jockeying for the succession.

Andropov Dies After 6-Month Public Absence

(Continued from Page 1)

res and promoting the creative activity of the masses.

The party had a "clear and explicit program of action," it said. The Communist Party would "continue perseveringly and purposefully" to pursue these policy lines.

Mr. Andropov's time in office was far briefer than that of his predecessors Vladimir I. Lenin, Josef Stalin, Nikita S. Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

The announcement of his death, which interrupted solemn music, said that Mr. Andropov had died at 4:50 P.M. Moscow time Thursday. Failing health dogged Mr. Andropov almost from the start of his 45-year career as the top Soviet leader. By mid-1983, Western analysts began to regard him as an interim leader with limited time to put his stamp on Soviet history and increase his power base in the vast party apparatus.

Until the medical report was published Friday, Mr. Andropov's illness was officially described as a chill or a cold. Some reports in the West said that he had recently undergone a kidney transplant.

The illness forced Mr. Andropov to retire from public view last August, two months after he consolidated his hold on power with his appointment as president. It took Brezhnev, who died at 75, 13 years to establish himself in both posts.

Although Mr. Andropov was known to be ailing, the Kremlin issued a series of statements and speeches bearing his name, and officials continued to insist until the end that he was functioning and making decisions.

Time after time he failed to meet visiting foreign dignitaries, or met them out of public view.

He missed two celebrations of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution on Nov. 5 and Nov. 7.

He stayed away from the Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in late December and from a meeting of the Supreme Soviet, or nominal parliament.

The events were considered obligatory for a Soviet leader. Operating behind the scenes, Mr. Andropov appeared to keep a firm hand on party affairs, although the momentum of his economic reforms slowed and Soviet foreign policy showed signs of drift.

Mr. Andropov's tenure was marked by a deterioration of relations with the United States and the rupture of talks between the superpowers on limiting both strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons.

Relations were further strained when on Sept. 1 the Soviet Union shot down a South Korean jetliner with the loss of 269 lives.

Diplomats said it could be some time before a new leader had

enough authority to move away from the Kremlin's present tough defensive stance.

Mr. Andropov, an austere intellectual whose rule was marked by an ideological and cultural crackdown, managed despite his illness to continue building up his support in the middle and upper reaches of the party.

He replaced at least nine Brezhnev appointees in prime positions as Central Committee secretaries and organized the replacement of about 20 percent of the party secretaries in the provinces.

Diplomats said Mr. Andropov's most significant achievement in his brief stewardship of the Kremlin could be the installation of an inner leadership group of younger men.

One of these could be destined for the leadership if the Politburo decides that it needs a younger and more vigorous chief.

(Reuters, AP, UPI)

The Successor: 2 Stand Out

(Continued from Page 1)

Leningrad for 13 years before he moved to Moscow last June to take over one of the influential posts as a Central Committee secretary.

Mr. Romanov's political strength is built upon his success in building up Leningrad's industries into some of the most modern and efficient in the country.

Mr. Romanov is known as an ideological hard-liner who cracked down on dissidents and fringe artists and has the reputation of being vehemently anti-Western.

"If Mr. Gorbachev were to take over, one could reckon with a reasonable and flexible Soviet leader who would be too concerned with internal problems to get very involved in foreign adventures," a Western diplomat said. "If it were Romanov, the West might find itself dealing with a very tough man ready to make a much stronger challenge to the United States."

The strengths of Mr. Romanov and Mr. Gorbachev rest on two assumptions about the attitudes of the top party hierarchy.

The first is that after two ailing leaders in Brezhnev and Mr. Andropov they will look now for a younger and healthier party chief who can project a vigorous image.

The second is that during only 15 months in power Mr. Andropov was able to build up his power base sufficiently to ensure that men basically loyal to his own course — which Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Romanov both are — would be able to take over after him.

However, some analysts believe these assumptions may not be as firm as they appear. They say the succession may well provoke inter-



Konstantin U. Chernenko

Reagan Sends Condolences; Shultz Says Dialogue Sought

(Continued from Page 1)

the U.S. delegation to the funeral of Mr. Andropov, who died Thursday and whose death was announced by Moscow on Friday. Mr. Shultz said the Soviet government had not officially notified the United States of the arrangements for the funeral. When they did, he said, Mr. Reagan would decide who would represent the United States.

But a senior official in Washington said at a news briefing it was "unlikely" that Mr. Reagan would make the trip for the funeral of a leader he had never met.

The consensus in Washington was that Vice President George Bush and Mr. Shultz would lead the delegation. Some Democratic presidential candidates and members of Congress said Mr. Reagan should do so in order to improve relations between Washington and Moscow.

Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic front-runner, said, "With the deterioration of U.S.-Soviet relations, I believe the president should go to the funeral to signal the Soviet Union and the world that he will now pursue every opportunity for peace."

Senators John Glenn of Ohio and Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina and former Governor Reubin Askew of Florida, all Democratic candidates, made similar calls.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland, a senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said, "I think this could be an opportunity for Presi-

dent Reagan and I hope he does not miss it."

But former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said in a television interview from London, "I do not think Ronald Reagan should go to Moscow six months after the shootdown of the Korean airliner, three months after they walked out of all [arms] talks. I think it would show an eagerness that would be inappropriate for the occasion."

Some Soviet affairs experts, such as Dmitri Simes of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, suggested that former President Richard M. Nixon would be the best choice to represent the United States if the Reagan administration was really interested in opening a more constructive dialogue with Moscow.

These analysts contended that Mr. Reagan is mistrusted by the Soviet leadership. Many of these experts said they saw little prospect for an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations in the next year or so.

Andropov's Rule Was the Briefest Of the 5 Leaders

Reuters

LONDON — Yuri V. Andropov, the fifth official leader of the Soviet Union, ruled for a far briefer period than did any of his predecessors.

The five leaders recognized by official Soviet chronologies do not include Georgi M. Malenkov, who was party and government leader for one week in March 1953. He had appeared likely to succeed Stalin but lost a power struggle with Khrushchev.

Mr. Malenkov was banished to the provinces in 1957 but now lives on an old-age pension in Moscow. He was 82 last month.

Khrushchev was the only Soviet leader not to remain in power until his death.

Official Soviet leaders since the 1917 revolution have been: Lenin, ruled from 1917 until his death in 1924 at age 53; Stalin, 1924-53, age 73; Khrushchev, 1953-1964, died in 1971 at age 76; Brezhnev, 1964-1982, age 75; Mr. Andropov, 1982-1984, age 69.

Sakharov's Wife Said To Suffer Heart Attack

The Associated Press

PARIS — Yelena Bonner, wife of the Soviet dissident Andrei D. Sakharov, has suffered her second heart attack in two months, the International Resistance Organization said Friday.

The organization, which acts as a clearing house for information from various pro-Western groups, said the information had come from Moscow. It said her life was in danger since she had refused to enter a hospital because Mr. Sakharov, in internal exile in the town of Gorky, was not allowed to accompany her.

Better Ties Unlikely Soon

(Continued from Page 1)

arsenal of Soviet SS-20 missiles, they said.

Moscow also made some progress in pushing its argument that British and French nuclear forces constituted a strategic threat to Soviet territory and should be included in nuclear arms-control talks.

Western defense experts said that with the U.S.-Soviet talks on limiting both medium-range and strategic nuclear weapons suspended, Mr. Andropov's death appeared to ensure continued Soviet refusal to return to bargaining.

It is possible, they added, the Kremlin might now be headed by a less cautious leader than Mr. Andropov, although the immediate prospect was for no change.

"The only thing we can expect for now is a continuation of inertia and a cautious policy," the Royal Institute specialist commented. However, he said, "A new generation might be more activist, might start to bring things to a head, might do something cautious."

After two years of the medium-range missile talks with the United States in November and suspending strategic arms negotiations the following month, the Soviet Union said it was reviewing all the issues involved in nuclear weapons control. Mr. Andropov died with no sign that the review was completed.

Some Western diplomats said the Kremlin would probably be in no hurry to reassess policy toward the United States until after the U.S. presidential election.

The only indication of an improved East-West climate has been Soviet agreement to resume NATO-Warsaw Pact talks next month on the reduction of conventional troops in Central Europe. There are also increasing Western hopes of progress this year toward a global ban on chemical weapons.

However, the current Soviet view was signaled last month by the foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, who accused the Reagan administration of "thinking in terms of war and acting accordingly."

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21:00 THE DANCE GOES ON
21:55 SKY CHANNEL MUSIC

ARTS / LEISURE

De Kooning Won Freedom Bit by Bit

By John Russell

NEW YORK — The retrospective exhibition of paintings, drawings and sculptures by Willem de Kooning that can be seen at the Whitney Museum through Feb. 16 has been both written up and talked up. The purpose of this article is not primarily to review the exhibition but to discuss one or two of the questions that it raises. Some of these have to do with de Kooning himself. Others relate to the problem of what museums are to do about artists who rank as national treasures and are yet still in full activity.

Two things distinguish de Kooning from most of the ambitious younger artists who are all set to step into his shoes. One is that, as a very young man in Rotterdam, he was educated in depth and at length in every imaginable department of his trade. He was trained to draw from the naked model, to know every human muscle by name, to handle classical perspective and to tell one color theory from another. He also learned how to make architectural renderings, to simulate wood graining, and many another useful skill. He won medals, and he deserved them, for he could do just what he wanted in art, and just about what anyone else would ever ask him to do.

Rotterdam at that time was not a second-rate environment. With Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg and their colleagues in the De Stijl movement in the heyday of their achievement, the Netherlands was not at all a backwater. When de Kooning took the boat to the United States at the age of 22 in 1926 he was both an accomplished artist-craftsman and a man with a first-hand knowledge of avant-garde art, design and architecture in Europe. Lodged in a boardinghouse for Dutch seamen in Hoboken, he could look across the Hudson River and know for certain that with his perfected skills he would not starve in Manhattan.

The second relevant thing about Willem de Kooning is, however, that he did not have a one-man show in New York until he had been there for 22 years. He supported himself, meanwhile, by odd jobs of many kinds — house painting, window designs for a shoe store, carpentry, furniture design, murals for speakeasies, a mural design for the New York World's Fair of 1939, a set for the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. He was known to many of the most discerning people

around — the dance critic Edwin Denby, the photographer Rudy Burckhardt, the art critic Clement Greenberg and, among painters, Arshile Gorky, John Graham and many another. But he did not go out for fame and fortune.

Something in de Kooning's general attitude at that time may in fact remind us of what Edgar Degas said when someone said of a younger painter in Paris that he had "arrived." "In my day," said Degas, "we did not arrive." Admittedly the 1930s were not the easiest period in which to "arrive" as a painter in New York. But even when that is taken into account there remains something wonderfully hesitant and uncertain about de Kooning's progress as a painter. He was in no hurry to sort himself out, still less to arrive.

After nearly half a century anyone can recognize both the delicate human insights and the no-less delicate sense of color that are the mark of the group of portraits that opens the Whitney show. Working with pinks and khakis and terra cotta, de Kooning did not attempt to fix his sitters once and for all, as bravura portraitists have done throughout history. They look as if they had just stopped by for a moment, and we believe in them, as we believe in de Kooning himself, as people whose development has not come to an end.

He was quite specific on this point, even as late as 1952. Two years before that he had painted the very large picture called "Excavation," which for many people is one of the great American paintings of all time, and at the age of 48 he might have been expected to have some firm ideas about exactly where he sat. But not at all. In a talk that he gave at the Artists Club in New York he said that "Some painters, including myself, do not care what chair they are sitting on. It does not have to be a comfortable one. They are too nervous to find out where they ought to sit. They do not want to 'sit in style.'"

When his almost too-celebrated paintings of women were first seen in the early 1950s, many visitors were thrown by what seemed their vindictive distortions. It took a major historian of Renaissance painting, Leo Steinberg, to write in *Arts Magazine* that "de Kooning's 'Woman' is no more distorted than a lightning bolt is a distorted arrow or a rainstorm a distorted shower bath."

Thomas B. Hess, likewise, had precisely the way with words that



Willem de Kooning's "Cross-Legged Figure" (1972).

brings de Kooning to life on the page. He could sum up his historical position in a few lines. "De Kooning," he wrote in 1972, "has never been an Action Painter in the sense of an artist who makes gestures of the infinite — outside of history, outside of place, outside of culture. His athletic slashes of the brush or knife do not symbolize the artist, alone in the cosmos, confronting the world the way Satan confronted God. His brushstrokes symbolize his independence, his liberty, but always as a hard-won emancipation. He takes the art of the past into account — Bruegel, Ingres, Cezanne, Delacroix, Uccello. . . . And he is well aware of his own times, as well as of his friends Gorky, Pollock, Kline, Newman, Rothko and many others. And also of where he lives and how it looks — the everyday routine of going to a shopping center and buying some coffee."

And there is, indeed, in the headlong, voluptuous and sometimes enigmatic figure of de Kooning an element of everyday detail that should never be forgotten. To a degree not often recognized, his work is a dictionary of how people in our time looked, dressed, ate and in general carried on the daily business of life. From dentistry to rowboat-building, and from mass-market cosmetics to the look of a shirt

just back from the laundry — it's all there at the Whitney if we know where to look for it.

Something should be said of the organization of the show — which by the way was sponsored by Warner Communications, Philip Morris and the National Endowment for the Arts. This is a three-sided endeavor, in which the Whitney has joined hands with the Pompidou Center in Paris and the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, and it is designed so that paintings are kept apart from drawings and sculptures. It is also designed so that the more recent work bulks very large indeed.

The results of this are not altogether happy. It is tiresome to have to go up or down two floors to mate drawings with paintings (or vice versa). The planning of the show rules out the lyrical unity that Hess was able to bring to the de Kooning retrospective that he took to Amsterdam and London in 1968. It also rules out the intimacy, the sense that sculptures, paintings, drawings and lithographs could speak to one another at their ease, that marked the exhibition that David Sylvester organized for the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1977. We see at the Whitney the prose, not the poetry, of museumology. But there are great things to be seen along the way.

Avant-Garde Soviet Arts Evolve Carefully

By Serge Schmemmann

MOSCOW — Handwritten signs marked "Exhibition" showed the way to the basement of a nondescript apartment house. Many of the paintings were simply hung by string from steam pipes, their titles announced on typewritten scraps of paper glued to the wall. But as expected the intelligentsia turned up in force, filling the small cellar with tobacco smoke and gossip.

It was, after all, the first one-man exhibition by Anatoly Zverev, and many in the basement remembered when his bold canvases, austere sketches and bright graphics were viewed only in private homes, and discussed quietly. They knew the basement, too. This was the space in the Graphic Artists Union that the authorities opened to avant-garde art in the wake of the furor over the bulldozing of an unofficial outdoor exhibition in 1974. In the intervening decade the gallery has become something of a home to art on the margins of the officially permissible.

The show was only one of several little-publicized events that tourists probably never hear of and that only a relative handful of Russians manage to attend. They included the Soviet premiere of "Yellow Sound" by one of the country's leading modern composers, Alfred Shnitke. The work was first heard in France nine years ago. Word of these events spreads largely through the intelligentsia grapevine and tickets are usually passed among friends.

None of these events is illegal or unsanctioned but neither do they carry the stamp of government approval. They are, rather, offerings of that uniquely Russian cultural world suspended between the dissent art that causes sensation in the West and the official productions in the established theaters and movie houses across the Soviet Union. It is a world of tiny experimental theaters, obscure one-time shows and restricted-access halls, a world tolerated but not advertised by the state, one to which access is determined largely by membership and standing in that dimly defined class known as the intelligentsia. The boundaries between what the authorities might ban, tolerate or favor are as obscure and unfathomable as the tangle of the vast state bureaucracy.

It seems sometimes that a lively culture survives and even thrives beneath the veneer of official uniformity simply because the creative drive of an educated, fertile and endlessly curious nation will inevitably find outlets. Experimental

theaters seem to sprout from nothing in the basements of bland apartment blocks, jazz ensembles appear unadvertised in factory auditoriums, restricted movies surface unheralded at obscure film clubs.

Some of the liveliest acting in Moscow is tucked away in such little theaters, sometimes with fewer than 200 places. One, in the Yugo-Zapadnyi district, is renowned for its staging of Eugene Ionesco's plays and its version of Evgeny Shvarts's "Dragon," an allegory in which townsfolk seem

satisfied with their enslavement by an aged and decrepit dragon and oppose a knight who comes to slay him. People have been known to queue overnight for a ticket to the Moscow Chamber Opera, the creation of Boris A. Pokrovsky, 77, who also happens to be stage director for the Bolshoi Opera. At his 200-seat studio, Pokrovsky stages little-known Russian operas, Western chamber operas and works by unknown young Soviet composers. There are also the experimental stages of established theaters, and the halls and auditoriums of count-

less professional unions, insinuating, rock groups, student ensembles, actors and other performers appear by private invitation, sometimes as a lure to attract workers to a dull ideological session. Vladimir Vysotsky, the immensely popular balladeer, who died in 1980, gained national fame largely through such random appearances, where his songs were recorded and then passed hand-to-hand across the country.

The ways of bypassing official restrictions seem endless, and often the only criterion seems to be that the audience be limited. After watching Shnitke's "Yellow Sound," a Moscow writer, proud that long-suffering Soviet culture could still produce something as advanced and creative as "Isn't it amazing? Just puncture one small hole through the thick tarpaulin of control and look out an eruption of creativity!"

Though artists often claim they who are mismanaged through the labyrinth of bureaucracy equally the state threatens themselves with a message that is just enough to raise the pressure without being dangerous or provocative. At the Taganka Theater, for example, director Yuri Lyubimov (currently in Western Europe, and raising pressure to return to the Soviet Union with authorities ease restrictions on his theater) has been allowed to stage a tribute to Vysotsky, but only on the dates of the poet's birth and death. He has not been allowed to include it in his regular repertoire. Some writers and artists who have gone beyond what is officially permissible have landed in a labor camp or exile.



Sergel Melkonyan's Moscow theater group rehearsing.

America's Frontier in European Eyes

By Dan Day

The Associated Press

OMAHA, Nebraska — A Swiss painter and a German naturalist explored the American wilderness together 150 years ago brought back graphic evidence that forms an exhibition beginning a two-year United States tour Sunday.

"Views of a Vanishing Frontier," opening at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, includes Karl Bodmer's watercolors and sketches of America in the early 1830s and Indian artifacts and wildlife specimens collected by Prince Maximilian Alexander Philipp of Wied.

Bodmer and Maximilian arrived in Boston in 1832 and began a journey that ultimately took them to western Montana. They traveled by steamboat on the Ohio River to St. Louis — then the edge of the frontier — and up the Missouri River to Fort McKenzie. "They certainly belong in the ranks of the foremost explorers of the American West," said Dr. Joseph

Porter, curator of the Joslyn Museum's Center for Western Studies. "Maximilian and Bodmer are the next explorers to proceed that far up the Missouri after Lewis and Clark."

Bodmer sketched hundreds of towns, Indian encampments and tribesmen. During several extended stays at forts along the route, Bodmer converted the sketches into about 400 watercolors.

Bodmer was 23 when the trip began and Maximilian 49. The prince, from Rheinisch Prussia, had a passion for nature studies that in 1815 took him through the rain forests and jungles of Brazil.

On his return home he published six books on the Brazilian expedition.

"Views of a Vanishing Frontier" includes 123 of Bodmer's sketches and drawings, and Maximilian's extensive collections of Indian artifacts. It will be in Omaha until April 8, then will go on the road through October 1985, with shows in Fort Worth, Texas, San Francisco, Washington and New York.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Drug Use Declines In High Schools

Drug use in American high schools remains high but it's on the downturn, according to a nationwide survey. The annual poll of high school seniors by the University of Michigan found that the percentage of daily marijuana smokers fell by nearly half over the past five years, to the lowest level since the U.S. government began sponsoring the surveys in 1975. The report on the 1983 graduating class found that 63 percent had tried an illicit drug at least once, down from 66 percent in each of the three previous years. Nearly half acknowledged drug use in the preceding year, down 6 percent from the peak of 53 percent in 1979.

Marijuana was the most common illicit drug, with 57 percent of the seniors saying they had smoked it and 42 percent saying that they had done so in the past year. But the percentage of seniors using marijuana daily fell from a 1978 peak of nearly 11 percent to 1.5 percent of the 1983 graduates.

Prominent 'Deputies' Can Conceal Guns

At least six civilian government officials, including the director of the U.S. Information Agency, Charles Z. Wick, have been made special deputy U.S. marshals so they can legally carry concealed handguns, according to the Los Angeles Times.

Senator Jeremiah Denton, an Alabama Republican, and Joel S. Lisker, the chief counsel of Mr. Denton's subcommittee on security and terrorism, who also is deputized and carries a pistol, refused to discuss their reasons for being armed on grounds that doing so would heighten their chances of being attacked.

Other special deputies include Louis O. Giuffrida, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which coordinates federal disaster activities; Fred A. Newton 3d, that agency's efficiency expert, and Robert J. Short, chief investigator for the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Two other senators, Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona, and Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, had been deputized, but their one-year appointments lapsed and have not been renewed, according to records of the U.S. Marshals Service.

Mr. Wick returned his hand-

gun to his agency's office of security recently, a spokesman said, "after he made a determination that he no longer had a need for a gun."

Mr. DeConcini obtained special-deputy credentials in 1981 after being told of "information gained through informants that there was a contract on him," his press secretary, Robert W. Maynes, said.

That information was received after Mr. DeConcini appeared on a television program "and named names and pointed his finger" at the Bolivian cocaine trade, Mr. Maynes said. Mr. Hatch decided to become deputized during a hard-fought re-election campaign in 1982, according to his press secretary, J. Paul Smith.

2 Seek Re-election Despite Sex Scandal

Two congressmen who were censured last year for having sexual relations with teen-aged pages are seeking re-election. Representative Daniel B. Crane



Daniel B. Crane

Crane, 48, who admitted he had sex several times with a 17-year-old female page in 1980, is seeking re-nomination for a fourth term in the Illinois Republican primary on March 20.

Despite the censure, Mr. Crane has retained the support of most county chairmen in his predominantly rural district. But four Democrats and a Republican are campaigning to unseat him.

Representative Gerry E. Studds, Democrat of Massachusetts, who admitted he had sex with a male page in 1973, has announced that he, too, will seek re-election.

Mr. Studds, 46, called his in-

volvement with a 17-year-old male page in 1973 "a serious error in judgment." But he has maintained that the relationship was a private matter between consenting adults.

"He made a mistake," a Crane supporter said. "He did wrong. But he's a good father, a good husband and an excellent congressman, and we wouldn't trade him for the world."

EPA Estimates Cost Of Waste Cleanup

Cleaning up the worst hazardous waste sites around the country would cost the U.S. government \$8.4 billion to \$16 billion, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

The agency estimates a \$1.6-billion "superfund" program, funded from a tax on chemical and petrochemical stocks, to pay for toxic waste cleanups. Existed in 1980, the tax will expire in 1985 unless it is extended.

The agency says the Reagan administration supports extension of the program, although it has not yet decided how much money should be raised. Representative James J. Florio, a New Jersey Democrat and the chief author of the law that created the program, is skeptical of the administration's intentions. He said he released the environmental agency's spending estimates to see if the administration would later repudiate the agency's findings on how much money is needed to clean up dumps.

Texas Baptists Cancel Games With Catholics

A Baptist school in Dallas canceled its basketball games with another private school after years of competition because officials suddenly learned their opponents were Roman Catholic.

"Ten days before the game they said they were canceling our schedule because we had philosophical differences," said the Rev. Bernard Marion, headmaster of Cistercian Preparatory School in the suburb of Irving.

"We thought they were merely a private school," said Stan Kiefer, basketball coach at Longview Christian Academy. "We didn't know they were Catholic."

"We played them when we had a broader philosophy," Mr. Kiefer said. "Now we are just going to play Baptist schools."

White House Agrees to Discuss Defense Cuts

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The White House has agreed to discuss military spending cuts while stopping short of meeting Democratic demands for action on defense as a condition for other budget accommodations.

The maneuvering Thursday cast more doubt than before on whether the negotiations will survive the political posturing that followed an inauspicious opening bargaining session between the White House and Congress on deficit reductions Wednesday.

Although none of the principal Democratic negotiators were available for comment Thursday, a spokesman for the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a Democrat of Massachusetts, said

the White House terms appeared unacceptable.

Thursday's events began with a letter from the House majority leader, Jim Wright, a Democrat of Texas, to the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, in which he said an agreement on military spending cuts would have to come before consideration of other budget reductions sought by the White House.

Domestic spending cuts "can be considered, along with tax-loop-hole closers and other revenue-code reforms, after first we have made a convincing demonstration of the seriousness of our intent by agreeing upon major reductions in the rate of growth in military spending," Mr. Wright said.

He also noted that Mr. O'Neill has requested that the next meeting of the bargaining group be devoted "exclusively" to discussion of at

least \$100 billion in military spending cuts, as Democrats proposed in the opening session.

Mr. Wright later indicated some flexibility in his position, although Senate Democrats were sticking by their demand that the White House propose specific military spending cuts at least 48 hours before they would return to the bargaining sessions.

Within hours, Mr. Baker sent a "Dear Jim and Dan" letter to Mr. Wright and Senator Daniel K. Inouye, a Democrat of Hawaii, the Senate Democrats' representative at the talks, saying the White House was "completely agreeable" to taking up military issues at the next meeting.

But he did not agree to discuss the military budget "exclusively" at the session. Nor did he refer to Mr. Wright's demand for agreement on military matters before other issues

could be discussed or to the demand by Senate minority leader, Robert C. Byrd, a Democrat of West Virginia, for advance submission of a list of Pentagon savings.

"It's a meaningless commitment," said Mr. O'Neill's aide, Christopher Matthews. Noting the Senate Democrats' demand, he said, "If they don't meet that, we won't have a meeting."

"We do not view Mr. Baker's letter as a response to the criteria that Senator Byrd listed Thursday," a Senate Democratic aide said.

Mr. Baker's letter appeared to be an effort to keep the talks from breaking up over an appearance of administration intransigence on military spending but, at the same time, to avoid yielding effective control over the talks' agenda to the Democrats.

Swiss Socialists to Vote On Coalition Pullout

By Iain Guest

International Herald Tribune

GENEVA — After weeks of passionate debate, Swiss Socialists scheduled an extraordinary conference in Bern this weekend to decide whether to withdraw from the coalition government.

The decision to hold the conference was triggered by the refusal of the Swiss Federal Assembly, the legislature, to accept the Socialists' nominee for one of the two seats allotted to the party on the seven-member Federal Council, which acts as the cabinet.

Given that the nominee was a woman, Lilian Uchtenhagen, a 55-year-old economist from Zurich and 14 years an assembly deputy, the action was viewed as snub for Swiss women, who only won the vote at the federal level in 1971.

The Socialist Party leadership then proposed to pull out of the coalition government, which it joined in 1959. This has now been accepted by party committees and also a majority of the 1,100 local party chapters.

But as the conference approached, passion has given way to a more sober realization that the Swiss Socialists may be in for the sort of upheaval that led to the emergence of Britain's Social Democrats from a deeply divided Labor Party.

Echoing a sentiment that appears to be increasingly accepted by party right-wingers, the former president of the Swiss Confederation and one of the party's sages, Pierre Graber, argued in a television debate on Wednesday that withdrawal would be a disaster that would plunge the party into ineffectual opposition.

The left-wingers have replied that the party needs a spell in opposition to regain its credibility. During the federal elections in October, the party lost 12 seats. In the last 15 years, party membership has declined from 72,000 to 49,000. This has happened, the left-wingers say, because the electorate sees the party as endlessly compromising to stay in power.

"We are hostage to the right-wing parties," said Jean Ziegler, a left-winger from Geneva who was one of the Socialists' most vocal deputies before he lost his seat in October. "People don't feel represented any more in Switzerland. Working people need a political party. Swiss democracy will not survive if we can't offer it."

Switzerland's Socialists were able to control their internal divisions as long as the economy flourished in the 1960s and early 1970s. But in the last seven years, according to Mr. Ziegler, 314,000 jobs have been lost in traditional industries such as watchmaking. This retrenchment was, ironically, presided over by a popular Socialist minister of finance, Willi Ritschard, whose death last year opened the way to Mrs. Uchtenhagen's nomination to the Federal Council.

Left-wingers blame part of the economic crisis on the country's banking secrecy, which has attracted foreign capital and pushed up the value of the Swiss franc, thus making it harder to compete in international trade. But repeated efforts by the Socialists to revise the banking laws have been rejected by their conservative partners in government, the Radical Democrats,



Lilian Uchtenhagen

the Christian Democrats and the Swiss People's Party.

Similarly, the Socialists have failed to prevent government measures to reduce the budget deficit by cutting subsidies, increasing the cost of public transport and freezing government salaries.

On the eve of Saturday's conference opening, opinion polls suggested that the vote on withdrawal would be close. Either way, most observers agreed, the Socialists Party will never be the same again.

If the motion to withdraw is rejected, most predict a vote of no confidence in the party leadership and large-scale desertion by the left-wingers to a new party of opposition or to Switzerland's feminist or ecology movements. This, said one observer, would turn the Socialists into a party of the center, similar to Britain's Social Democrats.

A vote for withdrawal would, he said, have the opposite effect of forcing disenchanted right-wingers out of the party ranks. "I hope that the movement we represent will survive," Mrs. Uchtenhagen said. "We must go on with the discussion. But at least this kind of democracy is not known in other parties."

U.S. Military Is Revising Policy on Press Coverage

By Jonathan Friendly

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Joint Chiefs of Staff have adopted new procedures to plan for press coverage during military operations, a Pentagon panel has been told.

The chairman of the panel, Major General Winant Siddle, retired, and other members said Thursday the action indicated a recognition by the military that blocking press coverage of the U.S. invasion of Grenada Oct. 25 had been a mistake and should not be repeated.

As evidence of a shift, they also cited a Dec. 1 statement of "principles of information" put out by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger. The statement directs military officers to make information "fully and readily available" to the public, the Congress and the press.

The actions by Mr. Weinberger and the military commanders were made public as the Siddle panel, which is drafting recommendations about press access to combat, completed four days of public hearings at Fort McNair in Washington and adjourned to discuss its recommendations.

General Siddle said the final sessions would be closed "because you cannot have free and frank discussion of the issues with the press present."

One panel member, Colonel George Kirshenbauer, said the new procedures "will force consideration of the issue" of press access. At the time of the invasion, according to Mr. Weinberger and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John W. Vessey Jr.,

the issue did not come up until the commander of the task force made an operational decision in the field to keep reporters off the island.

They said later that they had approved the decision in advance because they agreed that the commander could not assure the safety of reporters and because inviting them along might have prematurely revealed the invasion plans.

News organizations and some members of Congress protested that the curbs denied the public independent reporting about a major military engagement. They said the Reagan administration had made a political decision to minimize the possibility of unfavorable news reports if the operation failed.

The Weinberger statement, a one-page document circulated to senior Pentagon and service commands, lays out a general philosophy of access to information. Pentagon reporters said they had assumed the "Weinberger policy" had always been the Pentagon's policy but that it had been frequently violated in practice.

Under the policy, information should be made available unless it is currently and validly classified and that information "will not be classified or otherwise withheld to protect the government from criticism or embarrassment."

The policy does not specifically address the issue of press access to fighting but says the Defense Department has an obligation to provide information about its activities. "Information" will only be withheld, it said, "when disclosure would adversely affect national security or threaten the safety of the Armed Forces."

Hay on German Rekindles Mor

By Michael White

The Associated Press

SALT LAKE CITY — A new play has rekindled opposition about a young German man who — in defiance of his father's wishes — spoke out against Adolf Hitler and was executed by the Nazis 41 years ago. "Rebels Against the Reich" opens Friday in Salt Lake City at the corner of the United States

and Washington, eight years after World War II.

The play, written by a young German man who was in the U.S. Army during the war, tells the story of a young man who spoke out against Hitler and was executed by the Nazis 41 years ago.

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ARTS / LEISURE

French Auctioneer Plans Tokyo Sale

PARIS — A French auctioneer group is making the boldest move yet attempted by the profession to expand into foreign markets. On March 15, Jacques Tajan will hold an auction at the Okura Hotel, in Tokyo.

SOURIN MELIKIAN

The goods to be sold include 100 glass articles created in the Daum factory at Nancy, mostly at the height of the Art Nouveau and Art Deco periods. In addition there are some exceedingly rare watercolors by Henri Bergé, a designer whose name is virtually unknown even to specialized collectors but who played a key role in the production of the Daum firm. Tajan believes the sale may fetch 4 million to 5 million francs (about \$475,000 to \$595,000). Jean-Pierre Camard, the Art Nouveau expert, quoted a figure of 5 million to 6 million francs.

The standard is high. The Tokyo auction includes "The Nettle and the Spider," a vase of elongated form with a naturalistic design in low relief of wild flowers and a spider in its cobweb, it is the epitome of Art Nouveau and is easily worth 800,000 to 1.2 million francs. Another outstanding vessel is a vase called "Thorns and Tears."

Decorated in low relief with a background of drops trickling down from the shoulder, it offers a striking anticipation of Expressionist abstractionism in three-dimensional form.

Remarkable as such pieces may be, holding a sale in Japan is a gamble for any Western auctioneer. Precedents are not encouraging. After one unimpressive experiment in October 1969, Sotheby's gave up. Christie's, which also

made a short-lived attempt in 1969, had problems with the sales they held in 1980, 1981 and 1982. They made the mistake of sending third-rate works of art. These even included six watercolors "by Foutjita," which had to be hastily withdrawn before the 1980 sale after being declared fakes by the Japanese trade.

Tajan will be operating under different circumstances. For him, the question of authenticity will not arise. The wares come from the collections of the Daum family and would not have been sold had it not been for the problems encountered by the firm. In 1980 it could no longer meet its financial obligations. When the family was informed of the estimated value of the glass pieces they had inherited from Antonin Daum, they decided to merge their possessions with the firm's assets to salvage the factory. Many of the pieces had been loaned over the years to the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Nancy, where the factory is located. They were regarded as part of the city's heritage. The family agreed to sell part of them — 40 percent in value — to the nation. Twenty of the best, selected by Yvonne Brinhammer, who is one of the world's two or three Art Nouveau historians and a curator at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, were acquired by a national loan. They will be on permanent loan at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, when the museum reopens after its current redesigning. Other top pieces were acquired to be displayed at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy. The negotiation was conducted by Tajan, whose expert Jean-Pierre Camard had appraised the 575 piece pieces.

Tajan was then requested to auction off another 100 pieces repre-

sented 30 percent in value. These were sold in April 1982 at Monte Carlo, where they fetched 4,815,000 francs. A vase made in 1905 went up to 475,000 francs.

The 100 pieces to be sold on March 15 in Tokyo make up the remaining 30 percent of the family collection merged with the firm's assets. Many have been loaned for exhibitions in Nancy and abroad. Camard and Tajan, aware of the Japanese anxiety for guarantees, have taken an unprecedented step in preparing special authenticity certificates to be handed out to buyers. The description of each piece, identified by a photograph and a number is signed by Camard, who wrote the entries, by Tajan, by Pierre de Chérisey-Daum, chairman of the board of Daum and by Noël Daum, another member of the family. Under French law, authenticity certificates issued by auctioneers are valid for a 30-year period, the longest in the world. The auction should be further boosted by the flavor of historic importance attached to the sale of what is, in effect, part of the artist's own choice of their production.

The sale is also coming at the right moment. On the international collecting scene, the Daum firm's wares are beginning to achieve a status that had long been the privilege of Emile Gallé, the grand master of Art Nouveau glassmaking. As Camard put it, "Until five or six years ago, the finer Daum glass wares of the early 1900s were selling for the same prices as run-of-the-mill wares from the Gallé workshop (the so-called 'industrial production' as opposed to unique pieces entirely from Gallé's hands). The soaring prices of Emile Gallé's finest wares and their growing scarcity have resulted in renewed attention paid to the Daum production.

Seen from a Japanese angle, the timing of the sale is equally felicitous. Japanese buying of Art Nouveau glassware began years ago with the low quality pieces then offered in Japanese department stores, and became gradually refined. The first major Art Nouveau and Art Deco glass exhibition was organized in 1975 at the initiative of Isekan Department stores. This was followed by several exhibitions, including a major retrospective of Emile Gallé's work in 1980 at the request of Mitsukoshi Department Stores. In the same year, the first show entirely devoted

to the Daum production was held at the Museum of Modern Art in Hokkaido. The pieces, which came essentially from the firm's collection, included some of those to be auctioned on March 15.

In the last three or four years, quality Art Nouveau glassware has been drained by Japan. One of the world's leading collectors is a well-known figure in the Hokkaido medical establishment. In the 1982 Daum sale, Japanese dealers lined the back of the large rooms of the Hotel Hermitage in Monte Carlo, where the action was taking place. Yet, hardly any was seen with his hand up. The bidding was left to European colleagues in a characteristic Japanese effort to remain anonymous.

The unknown quantity that sends shivers down Tajan's spine between bouts of ebullient optimism is whether top collectors in Japan will be willing to come out into the open and bid in person. They hardly ever do, with the exception of one or two very old and very famous collectors of Chinese art. In an attempt to encourage them to do so, Tajan has tried his hardest to do things the Japanese way, or as close to it as a Westerner can get. He obtained sponsorship from the French Embassy — the Japanese are highly sensitive to anything that has the appearance of official approval. French Ambassador André Ross even wrote a preface in a Malraux-derived style. Admission is by ticket only as usual in Japan. The sale is to be conducted in French by Tajan, assisted by three Japanese interpreters one of whom will be Hiromi Tsuchiya, Tajan's wife.

A born optimist with the southern Frenchman's gift of gab, Tajan said that this is the inaugural auction of an intended series. He reck-



"The Nettle and the Spider" will be among pieces offered at Tokyo auction.

ons that he has invested more in this experiment than he expects to get in immediate returns. But he says, the Pacific is "the center of the future."



ART IN THE FAST LANE — Ten artists have been commissioned to paint murals, like this one, on walls and in underpasses of Los Angeles freeways, part of a project to spruce up the city for the summer Olympics. The artists were allowed to choose their own themes.

The Substance of Art in Rome Shows

By Edith Schloss

ROME — Paul Kier goes against his materials, plaster and wire, turning their stability and stiffness into something weightless and airy, as if by sleight of hand.

Curled, sliced, folded, feathering out, these white entities — sheets, columns, circles — spring from wall or ceiling like a chrysalis or a leaf unfurling. Just as a drawing born from long meditation may appear spontaneous, these sculptures are long thought turned into bodily form.

A poet has compared Kier's work to the Winged Victory. Like the goddess of Samothrace it is forever poised, yet takes one off to unfathomed distance.

In another of three shows dealing with the very substance of art, all running through February, Nunzio uses plaster as Kier does. His structures also depend on the wall, and so too are more related to painting than traditional monolithic sculpture in the round. Above all, like Kier he transcends his materials. His dark positive shapes, how-

ever, are solid. Usually two of them make a whole.

At first glance these presences seem to owe something to the starkness and evocative aura of prehistoric objects, but at second they turn out to be delicately refined modern monuments.

Shapes like giant flint heads, like menhirs, like shields, oars or shells are poised in subtle counterbalance. On each surface — some flat and even, some gently curved — the bone whiteness has been veiled by transparent color, which Nunzio has brushed onto the paired elements as if they were shaped canvases. Purple-red, deep sea-blue, cloud violet, smoke grey mysteriously change a hard substance into something seemingly like fur or velvet.

The contradictions go further: The outlines are jagged but the surfaces smooth; the relationship between solids tilting and hovering is also quietly stable. In each dark sculpture these contrasts, part of a modern sensibility, build up to a secret order, a taut resonance.

In the end, though both Kier and Nunzio employ material of hard and brittle consistency — one

using its interstices, the other its solidity — their chosen substance is subordinated to expression, but in Bruno Ceccobelli's work, substance is expression. It is to be considered foremost, the carrying, basic subject matter.

In earlier assemblages Ceccobelli juxtaposed wax with tar, metal with paint drips, mattress ticking with terra cotta, working with found materials. Now on huge sheets of paper flow black wax, slides of white chalk, metal disks and thick fields of sawdust surround figurative allusions: paintings of sailing human bodies, skulls, moons, church domes, adding up to allegories of modern anxiety, accented and shaped by rough materiality.

It appears as if Ceccobelli is pushing traditional painting into dimensions no one has thought of, not caring for niceties. But this attitude is already a style. The exposure of personal fantasy, psychological states, downy gloom or religious beliefs, with a seeming recklessness, is now practiced by all the new Italians of the so-called "Transavanguardia," by the new rough Germans, and by Schnabel and others in the United States.

All three artists were born in Rome. Nunzio and Ceccobelli are in their 30s, while Kier, now an American, is in his 40s.

Paul Kier, Galleria Primo Piano, Via Panisperna.
Nunzio, Galleria D'Atico, Via Paradiso 41.
Bruno Ceccobelli, Galleria Mario Diacono, Via Vittoria 60.

Play on German Anti-Nazi Rekindles Mormon Dilemma

By Michael White

SALT LAKE CITY — A new play has rekindled opposing views about a young German Mormon who — in defiance of his church's wishes — spoke out against Adolf Hitler and was beheaded by the Nazis 41 years ago.

"Huebener Against the Reich" opened Friday in Salt Lake City, the center of the United States' Mormon population, eight years after another play about Helmut Huebener was suppressed. A bright, idealistic 17-year-old, Huebener wrote anti-Nazi leaflets and distributed them in Hamburg with the help of two teen-age accomplices, also Mormons, until the three were captured by the Gestapo in the early fall of 1942.

His zealot's courage made Huebener a national hero in postwar Germany, where his nonviolent resistance was acclaimed by writers Günter Grass, Paul Schallneck and Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Böll. Huebener's story still dredges up bad memories for many German Mormons who knew him, some of whom have made new lives in Utah. And it raises anew the seeming conflict between two church doctrines — one requiring obedience to the "law of the land" and the other teaching strict devotion to truth and the teaching of choice.

Both problems remain a concern for church leaders, who neither want to offend German Mormons nor inspire new Huebeners among Mormons living under totalitarian regimes.

"It's a controversial thing. Who knows who was right or wrong?" said Elder Thomas S. Monson of the church's Council of the Twelve Apostles.

Those concerns appear to have played a role in the quiet suppression eight years ago of "Huebener," a play written by Thomas F. Rogers, a professor at Brigham Young University, which played to sellout crowds at the university in 1976.

Midway through the run, Rogers recalls, the university's president, Dallin Oaks, asked him not to make the play available for subsequent production. Rogers said the full reasons were never clear, but among Oaks's concerns was the effect the play might have on church members in Eastern Europe.

At that time the church, which emphasizes missionary work, was cautiously expanding its activities in East Germany.

The new play, written by a Salt Lake City lawyer, David Anderson, confronts the same issues and, in fact, was written because Rogers's script was not available.

Huebener's two co-conspirators, Rudy Wobbe and Karl Heinz Schnibbe, survived years in concentration camps following their convictions. Wobbe, now 38, was

liberated by Allied armies in 1945. Schnibbe, drafted into the German Army three weeks before war's end, was captured by Russian troops and spent four years in a Soviet labor camp.

Both now live in Salt Lake City. During the showing of Rogers's play, in which they were cast as heroes, they received anonymous telephone calls branding them traitors and Bolsheviks.

"A lot of Germans want us to feel ashamed for what we did. No way. I hold my head up," said Schnibbe, now 60. "My heart is free from hatred. I have pity for some people."

Douglas Tobler, a European Studies professor who with Alan F. Keele has compiled much of the historical record on Huebener, says it would be wrong to judge Huebener's critics harshly.

The church's 12th Article of Faith states that Mormons believe in "being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, and in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law."

Most Germans interpreted that to mean they should be loyal to their government, Tobler said. Moreover, during the Nazi era church authorities in Utah counseled German members to support the Third Reich, making the trio's opposition to Hitler a clear violation of ecclesiastical policy.

Still, as the war progressed, even Mormons who faithfully heeded the church's counsel feared for their lives.

Tobler said one Mormon official interrogated in the wake of Huebener's arrest later was told by a Gestapo agent, "After we have eliminated the Jews, you Mormons are next."

But Schnibbe and Wobbe, who watched Jewish neighbors rounded up and herded to concentration camps, said that getting along with the Nazis would have violated the church's higher commandment to stand for truth and justice.

"The Doctrine and Covenants [a volume of Mormon scripture] says you should obey the law of the land — in righteousness," Schnibbe said. "I cannot support butchers. There is a conflict."

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The Associated Press

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last visit to the United States. Grushkin built the archives five years ago around his own album and book collection, along with Dennis Erokian, publisher of BAM (Bay Area Music) magazine.

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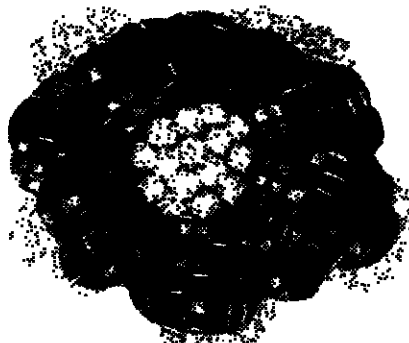
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ARTS / LEISURE

De Kooning Won Freedom Bit by Bit

By John Russell

NEW YORK — The retrospective exhibition of paintings, drawings and sculptures by Willem de Kooning that can be seen at the Whitney Museum through Feb. 16 has been both written up and talked up. The purpose of this article is not primarily to review the exhibition but to discuss one or two of the questions that it raises. Some of these have to do with de Kooning himself. Others relate to the problem of what museums are to do about artists who rank as national treasures and are yet still in full activity.

Two things distinguish de Kooning from most of the ambitious younger artists who are all set to step into his shoes. One is that, as a very young man in Rotterdam, he was educated in depth and at length in every imaginable department of his trade. He was trained to draw from the naked model, to know every human muscle by name, to handle classical perspective and to tell one color theory from another. He also learned how to make architectural renderings, to simulate wood graining, and many another useful skill. He won medals, and he deserved them, for he could do just what he wanted in art, and just about what anyone else would ever ask him to do.

Rotterdam at that time was not a second-rate environment. With Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg and their colleagues in the De Stijl movement in the heyday of their achievement, the Netherlands was not at all a backwater. When de Kooning took the boat to the United States at the age of 22 in 1926 he was both an accomplished craftsman and a man with a first-hand knowledge of avant-garde art, design and architecture in Europe. Lodged in a boardinghouse for Dutch seamen in Hoboken, he could look across the Hudson River and know for certain that with his perfected skills he would not starve in Manhattan.

The second relevant thing about Willem de Kooning is, however, that he did not have a one-man show in New York until he had been there for 22 years. He supported himself, meanwhile, by odd jobs of many kinds — house painting, window designs for a shoe store, carpentry, furniture design, murals for speakeasies, a mural design for the New York World's Fair of 1939, a set for the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. He was known to many of the most discerning people

around — the dance critic Edwin Denby, the photographer Rudy Burckhardt, the art critic Clement Greenberg and, among painters, Arshile Gorky, John Graham and many another. But he did not go out for fame and fortune.

Something in de Kooning's general attitude at that time may in fact remind us of what Edgar Degas said when someone said of a younger painter in Paris that he had "arrived." "In my day," said Degas, "we did not arrive." Admittedly the 1930s were not the easiest period in which to "arrive" as a painter in New York. But even when that is taken into account there remains something wonderfully hesitant and uncertain about de Kooning's progress as a painter. He was in no hurry to sort himself out, still less to arrive.

After nearly half a century anyone can recognize both the delicate human insights and the no-less-delicate sense of color that are the mark of the group of portraits that opens the Whitney show. Working with pinks and khakis and terra cotta, de Kooning did not attempt to fix his sitters once and for all, as bravura portraitists have done throughout history. They look as if they had just stepped by for a moment, and we believe in them, as we believe in de Kooning himself, as people whose development has not come to an end.

He was quite specific on this point, even as late as 1952. Two years before that he had painted the very large picture called "Excavation," which for many people is one of the great American paintings of all time, and at the age of 48 he might have been expected to have some firm ideas about exactly where he sat. But not at all: In a talk that he gave at the Artists Club in New York he said that "Some painters, including myself, do not care what chair they are sitting on. It does not have to be a comfortable one. They are too nervous to find out where they ought to sit. They do not want to 'sit in style.'"

When his almost too-celebrated paintings of women were first seen in the early 1950s, many visitors did not have to be told that their vindictive distortions. It took a major historian of Renaissance painting, Leo Steinberg, to write in *Arts Magazine* that "de Kooning's 'Woman' is no more distorted than a lightning bolt is a distorted arrow or a rainstorm a distorted shower bath."

Thomas B. Hess, likewise, had precisely the way with words that



Willem de Kooning's "Cross-Legged Figure" (1972).

brings de Kooning to life on the page. He could sum up his historical position in a few lines. "De Kooning," he wrote in 1972, "has never been an Action Painter in the sense of an artist who makes gestures of the infinite — outside of history, outside of place, outside of culture. His athletic slashes of the brush or knife do not symbolize the artist, alone in the cosmos, confronting the world the way Satan confronted God. His brushstrokes symbolize his independence, his liberty, but always as a hard-won emancipation. He takes the art of the past into account — Brueghel, Ingres, Cezanne, Delacroix, Uccello. . . . And he is well aware of his own times, as well as of his friends Gorky, Pollock, Kline, Newman, Rothko and many others. And also of where he lives and how it looks — the everyday routine of going to a shopping center and buying some coffee."

And there is, indeed, in the headlong, voluptuous and sometimes enigmatic figure of de Kooning an element of everyday detail that should never be forgotten. To a degree not often recognized, his work is a dictionary of how people in our time looked, dressed, ate and in general carried on the daily business of life. From dentistry to rowboat-building, and from mass-market cosmetics to the look of a shirt

just back from the laundry — it's all there at the Whitney if we know where to look for it.

Something should be said of the organization of the show — which by the way was sponsored by Warner Communications, Philip Morris and the National Endowment for the Arts. This is a three-sided endeavor, in which the Whitney has joined hands with the Pompidou Center in Paris and the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, and it is designed so that paintings are kept apart from drawings and sculptures. It is also designed so that the more recent work bulks very large indeed.

The results of this are not altogether happy. It is tiresome to have to go up or down two floors to mate drawings with paintings (or vice versa). The planning of the show rules out the lyrical unity that Hess was able to bring to de Kooning retrospective that he took to Amsterdam and London in 1968. It also rules out the intimacy, the sense that sculptures, paintings, drawings and lithographs could speak to one another at their ease, that marked the exhibition that David Sylvester organized for the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1977. We see at the Whitney the prose, not the poetry, of museumology. But there are great things to be seen along the way.

Avant-Garde Soviet Arts Evolve Carefully

By Serge Schmemmann

MOSCOW — Handwritten signs marked "Exhibition" showed the way to the basement of a nondescript apartment house. Many of the paintings were simply hung by string from steam pipes, their titles announced on typewritten scraps of paper glued to the wall. But as expected the intelligentsia turned up in force, filling the small cellar with tobacco smoke and gossip.

It was, after all, the first one-man exhibition by Anatoly Zverev, and many in the basement remembered when his bold canvases, austere sketches and bright graphics were viewed only in private homes, and discussed quietly. They knew the basement, too. This was the space in the Graphic Artists Union that the authorities opened to avant-garde art in the wake of the furor over the bulldozing of an unofficial outdoor exhibition in 1974. In the intervening decade the gallery has become something of a home to art on the margins of the officially permissible.

The show was only one of several little-publicized events that tourists probably never hear of and that only a relative handful of Russians manage to attend. They included the Soviet premiere of "Yellow Sound" by one of the country's leading modern composers, Alfred Schnittke. The work was first heard in France nine years ago. Word of these events spreads largely through the intelligentsia grapevine, and tickets are usually passed among friends.

None of these events is illegal or unsanctioned but neither do they carry the stamp of government approval. They are, rather, offerings of that uniquely Russian cultural world suspended between the dissent art that causes sensation in the West and the official productions in the established theaters and movie houses across the Soviet Union. It is a world of tiny experimental theaters, obscure one-time shows and restricted-access halls, a world tolerated but not advertised by the state, one to which access is determined largely by membership and standing in that dimly defined last known as the intelligentsia.

The boundaries between what the authorities might ban, tolerate or favor are as obscure and unfathomable as the tangle of the vast state bureaucracy. It seems sometimes that a lively culture survives and even thrives beneath the veneer of official uniformity simply because the creative drive of an educated, fertile and endlessly curious nation will inevitably find outlets. Experimental

theaters seem to sprout from nothing in the basements of bland apartment blocks, jazz ensembles appear unadvertised in factory auditoriums, restricted movies surface unheralded at obscure film clubs.

Some of the liveliest acting in Moscow is tucked away in such little theaters, sometimes with fewer than 200 places. One, in the Yugo-Zapadnyi district, is renowned for its staging of Eugene Ionesco's plays and its version of Evgeny Shvarts' "Dragon," an allegory in which townfolk seem

satisfied with their enslavement by an aged and decrepit dragon and oppose a knight who comes to slay him. People have been known to queue overnight for a ticket to the Moscow Chamber Opera, the creation of Boris A. Pokrovsky, 72, who also happens to be stage director for the Bolshoi Opera. At his 200-seat studio, Pokrovsky stages little-known Russian operas, Western chamber operas and works by unknown young Soviet composers. There are also the experimental stages of established theaters, and the halls and auditoriums of count-

less professional unions, institutes and factories, where poets, jazz ensembles, rock groups, satirists, balladeers, actors and other performers appear by private invitation, sometimes as a lure to attract workers to a dull ideological session. Vladimir Vysotsky, the immensely popular balladeer who died in 1980, gained national fame largely through such random appearances, where his songs were recorded and then passed hand-to-hand across the country.

The ways of bypassing official restrictions seem endless, and often the only criterion seems to be that the audience be limited. After watching Schnittke's "Yellow Sound," a Moscow writer, proud that long-suffering Soviet culture could still produce something so advanced and creative, exclaimed, "Isn't it amazing? Just puncture one small hole through the thick tarpaulin of controls and look what an eruption of creativity you get!"

Though artists often believe it is they who are managing to break through the tarpaulin of controls, it seems equally the case that the authorities themselves permit a seepage that is just enough to relieve the pressure without being dangerous or provocative. At the Taganka Theater, for example, director Yuri Lyubimov (currently in Western Europe, and resisting pressure to return to the Soviet Union unless authorities ease restrictions on his theater) has been allowed to stage a tribute to Vysotsky, but only on the dates of the poet's birth and death. He has not been allowed to include it in his regular repertory. Some writers and artists who have gone beyond what is officially permissible have landed in a labor camp or exile.



Sergei Melkonyan's Moscow theater group rehearsing.

America's Frontier in European Eyes

By Dan Day

OMAHA, Nebraska — A Swiss painter and a German naturalist explored the American wilderness together 150 years ago brought back graphic evidence that forms an exhibition beginning a two-year United States tour Sunday.

"Views of a Vanishing Frontier," opening at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, includes Karl Bodmer's watercolors and sketches of America in the early 1830s and Indian artifacts and wildlife specimens collected by Prince Maximilian Alexander Philipp of Wied.

Bodmer and Maximilian arrived in Boston in 1832 and began a journey that ultimately took them to western Montana. They traveled by steamboat on the Ohio River to St. Louis — then the edge of the frontier — and up the Missouri River to Fort McKearie. "They certainly belong in the ranks of the foremost explorers of the American West," said Dr. Joseph

Porter, curator of the Joslyn Museum's Center for Western Studies. "Maximilian and Bodmer are the next explorers to proceed that far up the Missouri after Lewis and Clark."

Bodmer sketched hundreds of towns, Indian encampments and tribesmen. During several extended stays at forts along the route, Bodmer converted the sketches into about 400 watercolors.

Bodmer was 23 when the trip began and Maximilian 49. The prince, from Rhenish Prussia, had a passion for nature studies that in 1815 took him through the rain forests and jungles of Brazil.

On his return home he published six books on the Brazilian expedition.

"Views of a Vanishing Frontier" includes 123 of Bodmer's sketches and drawings, and Maximilian's extensive collections of Indian artifacts. It will be in Omaha until April 8, then will go on the road through October 1985, with shows in Fort Worth, Texas, San Francisco, Washington and New York.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Drug Use Declines In High Schools

Drug use in American high schools remains high but it's on the downturn, according to a nationwide survey. The annual poll of high school seniors by the University of Michigan found that the percentage of daily marijuana smokers fell by nearly half over the past five years, to the lowest level since the U.S. government began sponsoring the surveys in 1975.

The report on the 1983 graduating class found that 63 percent had tried an illicit drug at least once, down from 66 percent in each of the three previous years. Nearly half acknowledged drug use in the preceding year, down 6 percent from the peak of 53 percent in 1979.

Marijuana was the most common illicit drug, with 57 percent of the seniors saying they had smoked it and 42 percent saying that they had done so in the past year. But the percentage of seniors using marijuana daily fell from a 1978 peak of nearly 11 percent to 5.5 percent of the 1983 graduates.

Prominent 'Deputies' Can Conceal Guns

At least six civilian government officials, including the director of the U.S. Information Agency, Charles Z. Wick, have been made special deputy U.S. marshals so they can legally carry concealed handguns, according to the Los Angeles Times.

Senator Jeremiah Denton, an Alabama Republican, and Joel S. Lisker, the chief counsel of Mr. Denton's subcommittee on security and terrorism, who also is deputized and carries a pistol, refused to discuss their reasons for being armed on grounds that doing so would heighten their chances of being attacked.

Other special deputies include Louis O. Giuffrida, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which coordinates federal disaster activities; Fred A. Newton 3d, that agency's information officer; and Robert J. Short, chief investigator for the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Two other senators, Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona, and Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, had been deputized, but their one-year appointments lapsed and have not been renewed, according to records of the U.S. Marshals Service.

Mr. Wick returned his hand-

gun to his agency's office of security recently, a spokesman said, "after he made a determination that he no longer had a need for a gun."

Mr. DeConcini obtained special-deputy credentials in 1981 after being told of "information gained through informants that there was a contract on him," his press secretary, Robert W. Maynes, said.

That information was received after Mr. DeConcini appeared on a television program "and named names and pointed his finger" at the Bolivian cocaine trade, Mr. Maynes said.

Mr. Hatch decided to become deputized during a hard-fought re-election campaign in 1982, according to his press secretary, J. Paul Smith.

2 Seek Re-election Despite Sex Scandal

Two congressmen who were censured last year for having sexual relations with teen-aged pages are seeking re-election. Representative Daniel B.



Daniel B. Crane

Crane, 48, who admitted he had sex with a 17-year-old female page in 1980, is seeking re-nomination for a fourth term in the Illinois Republican primary on March 20.

Despite the censure, Mr. Crane has retained the support of most county chairmen in his predominantly rural district. But four Democrats and a Republican are campaigning to unseat him.

Representative Gerry E. Studds, Democrat of Massachusetts, who admitted he had sex with a male page in 1973, has announced that he, too, will seek re-election.

Mr. Studds, 46, called his in-

volvement with a 17-year-old male page in 1973 "a serious error in judgment." But he has maintained that the relationship was a private matter between consenting adults.

"He made a mistake," a Crane supporter said. "He did wrong. But he's a good father, a good husband and an excellent congressman, and we wouldn't trade him for the world."

EPA Estimates Cost Of Waste Cleanup

Cleaning up the worst hazardous waste sites around the country would cost the U.S. government \$8.4 billion to \$16 billion, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

The agency administers a \$1.6-billion "superfund" program, funded from a tax on chemical and petrochemical stocks, to pay for toxic waste cleanups. Enacted in 1980, the tax will expire in 1985 unless it is extended.

The agency says the Reagan administration supports extension of the program, although it has not yet decided how long a renewal to seek or how much money should be raised. Representative James J. Florio, a New Jersey Democrat and the chief author of the law that created the program, is skeptical of the administration's intentions. He said he released the environmental agency's spending estimates to see if the administration would later repudiate the agency's findings on how much more is needed to clean up dumps.

Texas Baptists Cancel Games With Catholics

A Baptist school in Dallas canceled its basketball games with another private school after years of competition because officials suddenly learned their opponents were Roman Catholics.

Ten days before the game they said they were canceling our schedule because we had philosophical differences," said the Rev. Bernard Marton, headmaster of Cistercian Preparatory School in the suburb of Irving.

"We thought they were merely a private school," said Stan Kiefer, basketball coach at Longview Christian Academy. "We didn't know they were Catholic."

"We played them when we had a broader philosophy," Mr. Kiefer said. "Now we are just going to play Baptist schools."

White House Agrees to Discuss Defense Cuts

By Helen Dewar

WASHINGTON — The White House has agreed to discuss military spending cuts while stopping short of meeting Democratic demands for action on defense as a condition for other budget accommodations.

The maneuvering Thursday cast more doubt than before on whether the negotiations will survive the political posturing that followed an inauspicious opening bargaining session between the White House and Congress on deficit reductions Wednesday.

Although none of the principal Democratic negotiators were available for comment Thursday, a spokesman for the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a Democrat of Massachusetts, said

the White House terms appeared unacceptable.

Thursday's events began with a letter from the House majority leader, Jim Wright, a Democrat of Texas, to the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, in which he said an agreement on military spending cuts would have to come before consideration of other budget reductions sought by the White House.

Domestic spending cuts "can be considered, along with tax-loop-hole closers and other revenue-code reforms, after first we have made a convincing demonstration of the seriousness of our intent by agreeing upon major reductions in the rate of growth in military spending," Mr. Wright said.

He also noted that Mr. O'Neill has requested that the next meeting of the bargaining group be devoted "exclusively" to discussion of at

least \$100 billion in military spending cuts, as Democrats proposed in the opening session.

Mr. Wright later indicated some flexibility in his position, although Senate Democrats were sticking by their demand that the White House propose specific military spending cuts at least 48 hours before they would return to the bargaining sessions.

Within hours, Mr. Baker sent a "Dear Jim and Dan" letter to Mr. Wright and Senator Daniel K. Inouye, a Democrat of Hawaii, the Senate Democrats' representative at the talks, saying the White House was "completely agreeable" to taking up military issues at the next meeting.

But he did not agree to discuss the military budget "exclusively" at the session. Nor did he refer to Mr. Wright's demand for agreement on military matters before other issues

could be discussed or to the demand by Senate minority leader, Robert C. Byrd, a Democrat of West Virginia, for advance submission of a list of Pentagon savings.

"It's a meaningless commitment," said Mr. O'Neill's aide, Christopher Matthews. Noting the Senate Democrats' demand, he said, "If they don't meet that, we won't have a meeting."

"We do not view Mr. Baker's letter as a response to the criteria that Senator Byrd listed Thursday," a Senate Democratic aide said.

Mr. Baker's letter appeared to be an effort to keep the talks from breaking up over an appearance of administration intransigence on military spending but, at the same time, to avoid yielding effective control over the talks' agenda to the Democrats.

Swiss Socialists to Vote On Coalition Pullout

By Iain Guest

GENEVA — After weeks of passionate debate, Swiss Socialists scheduled an extraordinary conference in Bern this weekend to decide whether to withdraw from the coalition government.

The decision to hold the conference was triggered by the refusal of the Swiss Federal Assembly, the legislature, to accept the Socialists' nominee for one of the two seats allotted to the party on the seven-member Federal Council, which acts as the cabinet.

Given that the nominee was a woman, Lilian Uchtenhagen, a 55-year-old economist from Zurich and 14 years an assembly deputy, the action was viewed as snub for Swiss women, who only won the vote at the federal level in 1971.

The Socialist Party leadership then proposed to pull out of the coalition government, which it joined in 1959. This has now been accepted by party committees and also a majority of the 1,100 local party chapters.

But as the conference approached, passion has given way to a more sober realization that the Swiss Socialists may be in for the sort of upheaval that led to the emergence of Britain's Social Democrats from a deeply divided Labor Party.

Echoing a sentiment that appears to be increasingly accepted by party right-wingers, the former president of the Swiss Confederation and one of the party sages, Pierre Graber, argued in a television debate on Wednesday that withdrawal would be a disaster that would plunge the party into intellectual opposition.

The left-wingers have replied that the party needs a spell in opposition to regain its credibility. During the federal elections in October, the party lost 12 seats. In the last 15 years, party membership has declined from 72,000 to 49,000. This has happened, the left-wingers say, because the electorate sees the party as endlessly compromising to stay in power.

"We are hostage to the right-wing parties," said Jean Ziegler, a left-winger from Geneva who was one of the Socialists' most vocal deputies before he lost his seat in October. "People don't feel represented any more in Switzerland. Workers' people need a political party. Swiss democracy will not survive if we can't offer it."

Switzerland's Socialists were able to control their internal divisions as long as the economy flourished in the 1960s and early 1970s. But in the last seven years, according to Mr. Ziegler, 314,000 jobs have been lost in traditional industries such as watchmaking. This retrenchment was, ironically, presided over by a popular Socialist minister of finance, Willi Rischard, whose death last year opened the way to Mrs. Uchtenhagen's nomination to the Federal Council.

Left-wingers blame part of the economic crisis on the country's banking secrecy, which has attracted foreign capital and pushed up the value of the Swiss franc, thus making it harder to compete in international trade. But repeated efforts by the Socialists to revise the banking laws have been rejected by their conservative partners in government, the Radical Democrats,



Lilian Uchtenhagen

the Christian Democrats and the Swiss People's Party.

Similarly, the Socialists have failed to prevent government measures to reduce the budget deficit by cutting subsidies, increasing the cost of public transport and freezing government salaries.

On the eve of Saturday's conference opening, opinion polls suggested that the vote on withdrawal would be close. Either way, most observers agreed, the Socialists Party will never be the same again. If the motion to withdraw is rejected, most predict a vote of no confidence in the party leadership and large-scale desertion by the left-wingers to a new party of opposition or to Switzerland's feminist or ecology movements. This, said one observer, would turn the Socialists into a party of the center, similar to Britain's Social Democrats. A vote for withdrawal would, he said, have the opposite effect of forcing disenchanted right-wingers out of the party ranks.

"I hope that the movement we represent will survive," Mrs. Uchtenhagen said. "We must go on with the discussion. But at least this kind of democracy is not known in other parties."

U.S. Military Is Revising Policy on Press Coverage

By Jonathan Friendly

WASHINGTON — The Joint Chiefs of Staff have adopted new procedures to plan for press coverage during military operations, a Pentagon panel has been told.

The chairman of the panel, Major General Winant Sidel, retired, and other members said Thursday the action indicated a recognition by the military that blocking press coverage of the U.S. invasion of Grenada Oct. 25 had been a mistake and should not be repeated.

As evidence of a shift, they also cited a Dec. 1 statement of "principles of information" put out by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger. The statement directs military officers to make information "fully and readily available" to the public, the Congress and the press.

The actions by Mr. Weinberger and the military commanders were made public as the Sidel panel, which is drafting recommendations about press access to combat, completed four days of public hearings at Fort Meade in Washington and adjourned to discuss its recommendations.

General Sidel said the final sessions would be closed "because you cannot have free and frank discussion of the issues with the press present."

One panel member, Colonel George Kirshenbaum, said the new procedures "will force consideration of the issue" of press access. At the time of the invasion, according to Mr. Weinberger, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John W. Vessey Jr.,

the issue did not come up until the commander of the task force made an operational decision in the field to keep reporters off the island.

They said later that they had approved the decision in advance because they agreed that the commander could not assure the safety of reporters and because inviting them along might have prematurely revealed the invasion plans.

News organizations and some members of Congress protested that the curbs denied the public independent reporting about a major military engagement. They said the Reagan administration had made a political decision to minimize the possibility of unfavorable news reports if the operation failed.

The Weinberger statement, a one-page document circulated to senior Pentagon and service commands, lays out a general philosophy of access to information. Pentagon reporters said they had assumed the Weinberger policy had always been the Pentagon's policy but that it had been frequently violated in practice.

Under the policy, information should be made available unless it is currently and validly classified and that information "will not be classified or otherwise withheld to protect the government from criticism or embarrassment."

The policy does not specifically address the issue of press access to the battlefield but says the Defense Department has an obligation to provide information about its activities. "Information will only be withheld," it said, "when disclosure would adversely affect national security or threaten the safety of the Armed Forces."



James A. Baker 3d

Sumners, Zayak: Styles Apart

Skaters' Rivalry Highlights Athletic-or-Artistic Debate

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
SARAJEVO — Rosalynn Sumners won the world championship in 1983 and the U.S. titles in 1983 and 1984. Elaine Zayak won the world championship in 1982 and the U.S. title in 1981.

They are two of the favorites in women's figure skating at the XIV Olympic Winter Games, old rivals who have not always been friendly to each other. That, Sumners said Thursday, has changed, starting with the U.S. championships three weeks ago in Salt Lake City and continuing here.

"At the nationals," said Sumners, "everyone expected us to keep our distance, like we were enemies. I didn't talk to her much. But here we're on a team. Our rooms are across from each other, and we're together so much with the team. It's not worth being emotionally cold toward each other."

"We have lunch together. We don't talk about our skating. But we do talk about boyfriends, about New York City, how Dorothy Hamill skated in the nationals before her Olympics."

"We've battled injuries and we've battled mental ups and downs. We came through a lot this year. I think deep down we'll root for ourselves, but when the Olympics are over, I hope whoever

comes out on top, each of us will be happy for the other."

Much of the rivalry between the 19-year-old Sumners and the 18-year-old Zayak revolves around their styles. Zayak is the most athletic of the female figure skaters. Sumners is more traditional, seemingly emphasizing the artistic over the athletic.

Sumners is not pleased with that perception.

"It's not like I can't jump," she said. "A lot of people think that. My coach and I have always wanted to bring back grace and beauty to women's figure skating."

Mary Lynn Geldermann, a former skater who assists Peter Burrows in coaching Zayak, tried to explain the relationship between the two skaters.

"They don't dislike each other," Geldermann said at the U.S. nationals, "but they don't like each other. And I think that's to be expected. Look at fighters: they've got to insult each other and carry on before a fight."

"These girls are too much ladies to do that type of thing, but you'll notice they're very distant—they'll nod to each other. You can't compete against someone and really wish them that much success."

The rivalry, which goes back to 1978, almost ended last year, when a stress fracture in the right ankle

caused Zayak to withdraw from the world championships.

At that time, Zayak, discouraged by her injury and disgusted by the rule change limiting the number of triple jumps to five in the long program, had had enough. With her ankle in a cast for four months, she did almost nothing but eat, putting on 20 pounds. And then, when the cast was removed last June, she quit.

A month later, however, Zayak, who started skating at age 3 after the outside of her left foot was cut off in a lawn-mowing accident, decided to make a comeback. But she was not able to regain her old form in time for the U.S. nationals, when she finished third behind Sumners and Tiffany Chin.

Many figure skating people have compared Sumners' artistic style to those of Peggy Fleming and Janet Lynn, two celebrated predecessors. On the one hand, Sumners said she was flattered by the comparison. On the other, she feared that people overlooked her athletic ability.

"I'm doing all the jumps," she said. "But I prefer grace to athleticism. They say Elaine is athletic and I'm balletic. They haven't given me the credit I should have for a balanced program."

At the U.S. national championships, when the judges apparently were disappointed that Sumners did not do more difficult jumps, they did not give her the scores she had hoped for.

"I think the judges looked at my program twice as hard," she said. "There were only two jumps I didn't pull off. I'm disappointed that they wanted a triple when I wasn't planning it in that situation. I went home and did it. I've hit it every time since then."

"The judges were sending me a message. I think they want Americans to get medals in the Olympics,



Rosalynn Sumners, practicing at Sarajevo. "I'm doing all the jumps. But I prefer grace to athleticism."

and they were telling me not to hold back."

While Sumners is making her programs more athletic, Zayak is leaning slightly in the other direction. Since the nationals, she has changed the concluding music of her four-minute free-skating program from "Staying Alive" to "Hungarian Rhapsody."

Carol Heiss Jenkins said she was excited by the change. The New York native, the 1980 Olympic women's champion, is here to report on Olympic figure skating for the ABC radio network.

"I like how Elaine has changed the music," she said. "Now it's a little more elegant and feminine." Geldermann says of Zayak, "Style is not her forte, but she's certainly not lacking in it, either. She has a style all her own—you might not like it, but it is a style. Her style is strong. She's never been a ballerina."

Zayak always comes up short in style, grace and appearance when the two skaters are compared. Her build is husky rather than willowy, and on the ice she is more energetic than smooth.

"She doesn't do things the way she's expected to," Geldermann said. "She's not a carbon copy of anyone. She's no one's puppet. That's not to say all the other kids are, but there's always been a certain type in figure skating. And you're just not going to make her that type."

"This is a very conservative sport—the ladies are taught to curtsy—and along comes Elaine Zayak slapping you on the back and saying, 'How you doing today?' It took a lot of people by surprise."

"Elaine tends to say: 'If you like me, you like me. And if you don't, that's your problem.'"

(NYT, LAT)

Arbour, Nearing Milestone, Readies Islanders for Phase 3 of NHL Season

By Gerald Eskenazi

New York Times Service

UNIONDALE, New York — There is always a week in the New York Islanders' season when Coach Al Arbour narrows his eyes just a bit more than usual, tightens his lips that extra millimeter and looks just a shade unhappy.

It is the week that he can record the 500th victory of his National Hockey League coaching career if the Islanders beat the Vancouver Canucks here Saturday.

"He let things ride until now," said Billy Smith, the veteran goaltender.

Smith was buffing and puffing Thursday following a two-hour workout in which defense was stressed — a back-to-basics workout by a team that is one point out of first place in the Patrick Division, is going for a fifth straight Stanley Cup and has a three-game winning streak.

Smith recalled: "He told us the other day, 'I've let you guys get away with it.' You saw what he did today. Fundamentals. Sure, he's got the talent to win it. Lots of teams have the talent. But Al Arbour has got the knowledge to form it."

The Islanders are approaching the end of what Arbour calls Phase 2 of the season. This is the time when players are slowed by injuries or boredom. But it is also the time, the coach says, to start thinking of March and Phase 3 — the run for first place, and then April, the start of Stanley Cup play. It is the time Arbour turns practice sessions into hockey schools.

Only four coaches have ever reached 500 NHL victories: the late Dick Irvin, with 690; Scotty Bowman (656), still coach of the Buffalo Sabres; Billy Reay (542); and Toe Blake (500).

None did it as Arbour will: coaching only expansion teams. He

had the St. Louis Blues for parts of three seasons and, since the 1973-74 campaign, the Islanders. Over all, Arbour's record is 499-288-174, a won-lost percentage of .634.

"He's got a hang of a record, eh?" Blake said.

"I remember when he played he used to wear glasses, and I always felt that might have kept him from coming up to the NHL sooner as a player," Blake said from Montreal, where he is an official with the Canadiens. "But as a coach, he seems to get along with the players. He's dedicated to his job. I think he puts in a lot of work."

Blake is the only coach whose

teams ever won five straight Stanley Cups, a feat he achieved with Montreal from 1956 to 1960.

"A lot of people ask me how I'll feel if the Islanders do make it five straight, too," says Blake. "I know I won't feel as bad as the team being beaten."

Arbour says he has changed over the years but has remained the same in dedication. That means film-watching and strategic planning and line manipulations on paper late into the night.

After the second Stanley Cup, in 1981, Arbour considered quitting. After the fourth Stanley Cup he was in a state of emotional exhaustion.

He has two sets of children, more than 10 years apart, and he decided after Cup No. 2 that he did not want to neglect the younger pair as he had the older ones.

"I decided that after each year I would evaluate the season and where I am, and my family. That's what I've done. After this season I'll do the same thing — evaluate myself — and if I want to stay in it."

NHL Standings

WALDES CONFERENCE

Patrick Division

W L T Pts GB

NY Rangers 32 18 7 71 22 1/2

NY Islanders 34 20 2 70 24 1/2

Philadelphia 29 16 9 67 28 1/2

Washington 31 21 4 66 34 1/2

Pittsburgh 11 29 5 27 174 2 1/2

New Jersey 11 40 5 27 184 2 1/2

Adams Division

Buffalo 35 16 4 76 22 1/2

St. Louis 32 20 5 69 24 1/2

Chicago 30 20 4 68 19 1/2

Quebec 26 28 5 57 217 2 1/2

Montreal 18 26 4 44 188 2 1/2

Harford 25 31 4 44 188 2 1/2

Winnipeg 25 31 4 44 188 2 1/2

Edmonton 29 21 5 63 252 2 1/2

Calgary 22 21 11 55 261 2 1/2

Winnipeg 20 25 4 49 228 2 1/2

Vancouver 21 31 6 48 225 2 1/2

Los Angeles 17 27 11 45 222 2 1/2

Philadelphia 4, Edmonton 3 (Edmonton 2 (1),

Cochrane (4), Barber (15), Anderson (23),

Calder (12), Grosse (11).

N.Y. Rangers 4, Minnesota 4 (Hedberg (23),

MacInnes (28), Sundstrom (21), Dave Maloney (7),

Bellows (20), Plett (7), Roberts (4),

Lindgren (12).

Detroit 9, Pittsburgh 3 (Orndorff 2 (38),

Duquoy (22), Borrell (2), Park (4), Campbell (2),

Foster (16), Kile (14), Smith (2), Fletcher (2 (18),

Bohnet (11).

Vancouver 7, Montreal 6 (Sundstrom 2 (29),

Lanthier 2 (2), Tassil (12), Ballard (6), Smyr (20),

Lefrier 3 (25), Colson (13), Terrell (14),

Nolan (12).

Toronto 6, Boston 3 (Dierker 2 (24), Inouck 2 (2),

Anderson 2 (29), Middleton (25), Albury (1),

Kruschevski (20).

Buffalo 8, New Jersey 5 (McKenna (14),

Hamel (14), Andrichuk (24), Perrault (20),

Houlihan (21), Davis (2), Follans (21), Brogan (12),

Lever (9), Bridgeman (14), Ludwig (13),

Compton (9).

Transition

HOUSTON — Signed Harry Spilman, infielder-outfielder, to a one-year contract.

LOS ANGELES — Waived Dusty Baker, outfielder.

SAN DIEGO — Extended the contract of Tim Lincecum, infielder, for two years.

FOOTBALL

PHILADELPHIA — Traded Carl Hairston, defensive end, to Cleveland for an undisclosed conditional pick in 1985. Announced the retirement of John Sciara, defensive back.

Olympics on Television

SATURDAY, FEB. 11

(All Times Local)

Britain — 10:30 P.M.-12:30 A.M. (BBC 1)

Denmark — 10:30 A.M.-Noon 5:00-6:30

France — 8:55 A.M.-Noon (Ch. 1, 2); 2:00-3:00 P.M.; 7:30-8:30 (Ch. 1); 8:30-10:30 (Ch. 2)

Germany — 10:30-11:35 A.M.; 2:00-3:00 P.M. (Antenne 2); 7:40-8:50 (TFI)

Italy — 8:55-11:00 A.M. (Ch. 2); 10:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M. (Ch. 3); 2:35-5:20 (52-John Sports); 5:20-5:30 (Ch. 2); 7:11-8 P.M. (Ch. 1)

Japan — 1:25-2:45 P.M.; 8:00-9:15, 10:45-11:45 (Ch. 1)

Netherlands — 10:25 A.M.-1:00 P.M.; 7:12-8:50 (Ch. 2); 11:50 P.M.-1:00 A.M. (Ch. 1)

Sweden — 8:45 A.M.-12:30 P.M.; 8:15-11:00 (Ch. 1)

Switzerland — 7:50-10:30 P.M. (SRG 2, SSR 2, TSI 3)

West Germany — 8:55 A.M.; 10:25, 1:25 P.M. (ARD)

Olympic Schedule

9 A.M. — Men's and women's luge

10:30 P.M. — Men's 500-meter speed skating

1:30 P.M. — Two-man bobsled, third and fourth runs

Hockey

1:00 P.M. — Italy vs. Poland

1:30 P.M. — Austria vs. Czechoslovakia

4:30 P.M. — Canada vs. Finland

5:00 P.M. — United States vs. Norway

8:00 P.M. — U.S.S.R. vs. Yugoslavia

8:30 P.M. — Sweden vs. West Germany

SUNDAY, FEB. 12

(All Times Local)

Britain — 3:25-4:55 P.M. (BBC 1)

Denmark — 8:55-9:40 A.M.; 12:55-3:00 P.M.; 9:45-11:15 P.M.

France — 8:55-9:40 A.M. (Ch. 1, 2); 2:00-3:00 P.M. (Ch. 1); 7:35-8:30 P.M. (Ch. 2)

Germany — 9:30-10:30 A.M. (Antenne 2); 2:35-5:40 P.M.; 7:40-8:50, 10:30-11:30 (TFI)

Italy — 12:55-3:00 P.M. (Ch. 3); 1:55-4:00 (Ch. 1)

Japan — 2:30-4:00 P.M. (Ch. 1); 9:30-10:30 (Ch. 2); 10:30-11:30 (Ch. 1)

Netherlands — 9:25 A.M.-12:30 P.M.; 12:55-3:00, 4:20-6:00, 7:00-7:55, 11:15 P.M.-12:30 A.M. (Ch. 1)

Sweden — 8:45 A.M.-3:00 P.M.; 9:20-11:15 (Ch. 2)

Switzerland — 7:15-11:00 P.M. (SRG 2, SSR 2, TSI 3)

West Germany — 8:55 A.M.; 9:25, 10:55, 12:55 P.M.; 1:55, 9:55 (ZDF)

Olympic Schedule

9 A.M. — Women's 5K cross-country

9:30 A.M. — Men's 500-meter speed skating

11:00 A.M. — 15K Nordic combined skiing

Noon — Men's downhill

1:00 P.M. — 75-meter ski jump

2:00 P.M. — Men's and women's luge

3:00 P.M. — Ice dancing (original set)

3:30 P.M. — Ice dancing (original set)

7:30 P.M. — Pairs free skating

College Basketball Scores

Thursday's Results

EAST

Duquesne 66, W. Virginia 67

Georgetown 78, Seton Hall 54

Holbrook 74, Manhattan 78

Massachusetts 91, St. Bonaventure 81

Rhode Island 63, Penn St. 60

Rutgers 61, Notre Dame 59

FAIR WEST

Cal.-Irvine 64, San Jose St. 53

Fresno St. 69, Fullerton St. 48, 2 OT

Montana 76, Idaho 51

Nebraska-Lincoln 91, Utah St. 75

Nebraska-Kearney 76, Idaho 44, OT

New Mexico 44, Hawaii 44, OT

Oregon 87, UCLA 85

Oregon St. 64, So. California 57

San Diego St. 73, Texas-Et Paso 42

Washington 78, Arizona St. 61

Wyoming 67, Colorado St. 51

WYOMING 67, COLORADO ST. 51

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WYOMING

A Transition to What?

Yuri Andropov's 15 months in power left him no time to complete the ambitious tasks he appeared to have set for himself and his country. With his death on Thursday, six months after his last public appearance, he passes into history as merely a transitional leader. Whether he was ever intended to be more than that remains unclear. In any case, the image of vitality and innovation that he skillfully projected in his first weeks at the top yielded quickly to a stream of steadily less credible announcements that his health was improving and he would soon reappear.

It remains to be seen how much of the Andropov record — mainly, the network of presumably like-minded officials promoted during his tenure — will succeed him.

The collective leadership in the Kremlin managed to function in his prolonged absence and will no doubt pick his successor within a few days. For all we can know, the Politburo may have done so already. It would be surprising if it did not choose a younger man this time. Stability of leadership may indeed be assured, but the appearance of continuity in government can be as important as continuity itself. It is hardly

good for any state, and even less so for a superpower, to have everyone waiting for the next man instead of paying attention to the words and actions of the current leader.

A Soviet leader in good health would be able to meet Ronald Reagan — or his successor — before or soon after the American presidential election. The Kremlin may have to reconcile itself to another four years of Mr. Reagan, although it will no doubt go to great lengths to avoid helping him in his campaign. Of late, the Reagan administration has been offering Moscow a "constructive working relationship."

The world now enters a year of waiting — for the United States, because of a 200-year-old democratic process, and for the Soviet Union, because of autocratic and secretive practices that make it impossible for that superpower to be candid even about the health of its leader, whose death has been announced on the day after. There is a lot to be said for annual medical checkups and for their publication. More important, in 1984: There is East-West business, too long undone, that awaits a credible Soviet leader.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

The Duty of Steel Duties

To nobody's surprise, the U.S. Commerce Department finds that Brazil heavily subsidizes the steel it sells to the United States. That confronts the Reagan administration with an unpleasant choice, but not a difficult one.

If the subsequent investigation confirms this preliminary finding, as it doubtless will, U.S. law requires a duty on the imported steel equal to the subsidy. That is not an easy thing to do, because Brazil is trying desperately to pay off its enormous foreign debt — much of it to U.S. banks — and one way to do it is to sell steel in the United States. Putting duties on the Brazilian steel will probably end the sales, making Brazil's financial troubles that much worse. Those debts are dangerous to the world economy, and aggravating the strain on the debtors is a thing that no government ought to do without careful consideration.

But the alternative is far worse. U.S. domestic steel producers are offering a deal. They want legislation that would impose quotas to roll back imports, now around 22 percent of the U.S. market, to 15 percent and hold them there. Each country that exports steel would get a share of that 15 percent and could price its products wherever it pleased as long as it did not exceed its assigned volume.

That, the U.S. producers suggest, is the way

to end all this tiresome litigation and political controversy over foreign steel. But import quotas would mean that U.S. producers could keep raising prices without risking any loss of their share of the market. Steel is already a concentrated industry, and further mergers are in progress. During the 1970s it did not have a good record for keeping its costs under control. Import quotas are a formula for inflation.

Worldwide, the steel industry is grossly overbuilt. The U.S. companies see themselves as the victims of unfair competition from foreign producers that are frequently government-owned and that operate with huge subsidies to avoid laying off workers; their steel is then dumped in the United States at whatever price it will bring. While that is certainly not true of all imported steel, it is not an unfair description of a substantial fraction of it.

But the answer is not a system of import quotas that penalizes subsidized and unsubsidized imports equally. The proper remedy is to enforce the law that penalizes subsidies. The steel industry is entitled to prompt and efficient action. The Brazilians are entitled to many kinds of assistance and support from the United States, but non-enforcement of existing trade law is not one of them.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

Jobs Andropov Leaves Undone

Soviet officials sought to conceal the seriousness of Yuri Andropov's condition until the last minute. His partisans presumably wanted to believe to the end that he might still have enough strength and time to carry out the job of cleaning up the Soviet Union — the word "reform" would be inadequate — that he had implicitly given as his goal.

Having reached the top of the communist hierarchy at age 68, Mr. Andropov could be no more than a transitional secretary-general. At least he could hope to stay in power long enough to break with the bad habits developed in Brezhnev's last years — the carelessness and corruption in the economy. Did he want to do more, by promoting a reform in depth of a rigid system that thwarted productive forces? The question will remain unanswered.

Despite his illness he succeeded in bringing into the Politburo some younger men who seem to be inclined to proceed with modernization of the country. It will be up to this new generation, too, to repair relations with the West that deteriorated seriously during Yuri Andropov's brief reign. The arrival on the scene of new leaders might clear the way for renewed dialogue with Washington. However, a recollection of the illusions that were entertained in some quarters at the time of Mr. Andropov's election should caution.

— Le Monde (Paris).

Moscow and the U.S. Election

It's bad enough that the presidential election should be the key issue in American foreign policy, as it certainly will be, but it is deeply alarming — and unprecedented — that it should have become the key issue in Soviet foreign policy as well. This brings the presidential contest right into the heart of relations between the superpowers, tending to make the East even more adversarial than ever before.

According to [Seweryn Bialer] (in the commentary published opposite on this page), mem-

bers of the Soviet political structure feel extremely vulnerable, and correspondingly alarmed, by what they see as Ronald Reagan's hostile intention toward them. They are seen as in the grip of an intense, obsessive wish that he should lose in November. This prompts the question: If they want him to lose, are they likely to try to help him to lose? There are some pretty good chess players among them.

— Connor Cruise O'Brien, writing in *The Observer* (London).

Double Vision in Washington

You quickly learn on a visit to Washington that the city speaks with many voices. In East-West relations, the difficulty of finding out what is likely to happen boils down to a choice between two broad streams of ideas: the State Department's view of the world, inclined to pursue talks even with thieves and vagabonds; and that of the Defense Department, which retains its proclivities in influential places.

Some White House advisers, reflecting the "prince of light" view of [Undersecretary of State] Richard Burt, consider that the president has a better chance of being re-elected by appearing to try hard to reopen contacts with the Kremlin. [Assistant Secretary of Defense] Richard Perle, dismissed by his enemies as a "prince of darkness," (emphasizes a need) to return the United States to a position of strength, to open negotiations only when the adversary has little option but to give ground.

It is a moot point at this stage which line the president will adopt as the campaign progresses. The "evil empire" scenario is essentially the one which, in terms of foreign policy, helped to elect him in 1980. The "peacekeeper" approach might begin to seem more appealing if the American electorate shows signs of jitteriness at the vision of world affairs offered by Mr. Perle and those who share his views.

— Alexander MacLeod, writing in *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh).

FROM OUR FEB. 11 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: A Secretary of State's Wages

WASHINGTON — Several able constitutionally lawyers cite a precedent to show that Senator Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, is barred from becoming Mr. Taft's Secretary of State, because of Section 6, Article I, of the Federal Constitution. Part of this section says: "No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time." As the salaries of Cabinet members have been increased from \$8,000 to \$12,000 during Senator Knox's senatorial term, it is asserted that he is ineligible for Secretary of State, unless the salary of that office shall be reduced to \$8,000.

1934: Devaluation Talk in Prague

PRAGUE — In a radio broadcast [on Feb. 10] Premier Malypetr announced that the Czechoslovakian crown would be devaluated to "strengthen it for competition with other currencies in the markets abroad." It is reliably reported that the crown will be devaluated by 16.6 percent. It has not yet been decided when the devaluation will become effective, but it is reported that the move will be taken independently of other member countries of the Little Entente and of France, as it is solely designed to aid Czechoslovakian exports. It is believed here that the devaluation of the crown may lead to a cabinet crisis and possibly the resignation of Josef Matousek, minister of commerce, who is reported to oppose the move.

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From Andropov to a Colder Cold War?

By Stephen F. Cohen

PRINCETON, New Jersey — After the death of Yuri Andropov, and for the first time in three decades, there is the real prospect of a Soviet leadership devoted to cold war and disbelieving in détente. Such a government would be the result of a long struggle inside the Soviet political establishment, but a struggle in which American policy has played a lamentable role.

Contrary to widespread American assumptions, official Soviet attitudes toward East-West relations have never been monolithic. A deep ideological division has existed between Western-oriented advocates of détente and anti-Western cold warriors ever since the 1950s, when the Khrushchev leadership abandoned Stalin's iron-curtain isolationism for an opening to the West based on "peaceful coexistence."

Both sides in the conflict, which recalls the 19th-century dispute between Russian Westernizers and Slavophiles, have had strong support in official circles. Every Soviet leadership since Stalin has pursued a Western orientation in foreign policy, but has done so in the face of a formidable cold war lobby. That lobby may finally prevail, if it has not already, largely because Soviet pro-détente arguments are in shambles.

Soviet proponents of détente have always insisted that significant cooperation with the West, particularly with the United States, is necessary to overcome Soviet backwardness in economic and other areas; to ensure a superpower role in managing world affairs; and to avoid an unconstrained arms race and a nuclear war. The political question was whether the Soviet leadership could actually rely upon the United States to cooperate despite other Soviet international objectives and longstanding American animosity.

In the early 1970s, pro-détente analysts gave the leadership an assurance that recently has been their undoing. They argued that because the Soviet Union had achieved global military and political equality with the West, détente had become an "objective necessity" for the United States. As proof they pointed to the "business-like" détente policy of President Nixon, once America's arch-cold warrior.

The Brezhnev leadership clung to that axiom throughout the deepening crisis of détente in the late 1970s and into the '80s. It reasoned that President Carter's haphazardly hard-line policy was a temporary aberration, and that Ronald Reagan would turn out to be another Nixon. But President Reagan's assault on every premise of détente — his ideological crusade against the "evil empire," his campaign to stop the Soviet-European pipeline and his program to regain

U.S. military superiority — finally "dispelled" any "illusions" in Moscow, as Mr. Andropov put it last August, and with them the "objective necessity" thesis of the pro-détente lobby.

Soviet cold warriors, having always rejected the basic premises of any Western orientation, are the beneficiaries of that disillusionment. Espousing Russophile and xenophobic ideas from czarist and Stalinist times, they insist that Soviet Russia's "rightful" destiny, as a political system and a great power, is fortress-like isolation from the West and principled opposition to it. America, the epitome of pernicious Western values, is not a solution to Soviet problems but the cause of them, from crises in East Europe and Afghanistan to political dissent and social ills at home.

Moreover, cold warriors argue, the West is inherently anti-Russian, as evidenced by centuries of Western conspiracies and invasions, and therefore the United States will never accept the prerequisite of détente — Soviet security and parity in world affairs. Thus, Ronald Reagan, not Richard Nixon, is the real face of America. And thus, for the Soviet Union, cold war is both political virtue and eternal necessity.

Dismissed as crackpot extremism by many leading Soviet officials only a decade ago, such views now seem cogent and prudent. Cold war ideology is more fulsome and zealous, in the Soviet press and in popular culture, than at any time since Stalin. Not all of it is directly controlled by the leadership, but some of it is.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn from arms

talks. A catchword of cold war Communism, Nikolai Yakovlev's "The CIA Against the U.S.S.R." circulates in 3 million copies and is serialized as orthodox wisdom in once pro-détente newspapers. Xenophobic and pro-Stalin novelists win coveted state prizes. And earlier this month the leadership authorized an ominous new law against passing "information" to "foreign organizations." Meanwhile, once outspoken and influential advocates of détente are on the defensive and dispirited.

The importance of this turnabout in the long struggle between Western-oriented and cold war Communism is hard to exaggerate. Soviet foreign and domestic policy are at stake, since the conflict is also between reform and reaction at home. The struggle, of course, is not over. Some important factors sustain the pro-détente lobby — including certain relations with the West that directly benefit Soviet elites, widespread fear of China, and the threat of nuclear war.

But other factors, in addition to U.S. policy, abet a cold war outcome in Moscow. One is the rising tide of Russian nationalist sentiment, upon which cold warriors feed. Another is the growing political weight of watchdog institutions that have always promoted a "vigilant" cold war outlook. And now there is the intensified struggle over power and policy in the top leadership caused by Mr. Andropov's death.

No serious contender in the succession battles ahead is likely to wager his political fortunes on the lingering "illusions" of détente that Mr. Andropov himself dismissed. Indeed, any strong leadership — something the country has not had for several years — will be tempted to impose a stringent austerity program at home to cope with the country's serious economic problems, and thus to enforce the calls for sacrifice and rigid controls that are implicit in cold war.

American cold warriors have always denied that such policy divisions exist inside the Soviet establishment. Now, dimly perceiving otherwise, they suggest that a cold-war Moscow is in America's interest because it will divert the Kremlin's attention to containing "iron-curtain" areas and away from global rivalry with the United States.

That perspective is both cynical and perilous. Its likely consequences are new repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, growing East-West mistrust bred by isolation, a permanent arms race and an even greater risk of nuclear war.



Drawing by MacLeod.

The writer is professor of politics at Princeton University. He contributes a monthly column on Soviet affairs to *The Nation*.

When Moscow Gives Up on Washington

By Seweryn Bialer

NEW YORK — When I visited Moscow in December, I found that the dominant mood among officials was one of anger. Among people outside official circles, the dominant mood was fear — fear fueled by incessant, agitated and strident vilification of the United States.

The combination of American insult and pressure is made more bitter to accept by Russians' recognition of their own political and economic vulnerability. These different tendencies share one volatile ingredient — the desire to reassert Soviet greatness at home and abroad.

Policy-makers in the West generally believe that Soviet leaders have a pragmatic respect for the language of power — that they are prudent calculators of risks and costs in international relations. The anger with which Soviet leaders are responding to U.S. pressures today put such assumptions about their "pragmatism" in doubt.

President Reagan's rhetoric has badly shaken the self-esteem and patriotic pride of the Soviet political elites. The Reagan administration's self-righteous moralistic tone, its reduction of Soviet achievements to crimes by international outlaws from an "evil empire" — such language stunned and humiliated Soviet leaders. Among Soviet elites, who have spent much of their lives manipulating the nuances of ideology, words are taken very seriously. For them, President Reagan's decision to use belittling language amounted to a policy pronouncement.

They were also convinced that his rhetoric promised even tougher policies if the Soviet Union let itself be pushed around. Thus even the recent muting of Mr. Reagan's attack, largely under pressure from European allies — as in his Jan. 15 speech urging the Russians to resume arms control negotiations — cannot quiet their alarm. The damage will not easily be undone.

Soviet officials believe that Mr. Reagan is determined to deny the Soviet Union nothing less than its legitimacy and status as a global power. They believe that he would deny them the respect and influence due them as a consequence of achieving military parity with the West.

A rekindled sense of insecurity fires defiance — a desire to lash out and restore the respect of others. Such an attitude must surely make Americans reconsider their confident expectation that Soviet pragmatists will continue to be content

with policies of "low risk" and "low cost."

During the fall of 1983, an invisible line was crossed in the attitudes of Soviet leaders toward President Reagan's present and future policies. They concluded that any attempt on their part to improve relations would be futile.

Their dilemma — to conceive a policy capable of meeting a protracted Reagan challenge — is rendered more complex and difficult by their knowledge of their own economic and political weaknesses and even more so by their knowledge that both their friends and their adversaries fully appreciate how vulnerable they are. But Mr. Reagan's challenge and the recognition of their own vulnerability do not combine to reinforce caution in Soviet international conduct. On the contrary, this combination could lead Soviet policy-makers to take higher risks.

Soviet leaders have been deeply frustrated by the unexpected difficulties they have encountered in translating their military might into international political and economic gains. They do not look for sympathy but they expected to command respect from adversaries and uncommitted nations. What they can tolerate least of all is not to be taken seriously and not to be feared.

In the present situation, Soviet leaders will continue to pursue a very dangerous direction in their foreign policy: to await, or create, occasions for reasserting themselves and confirming to the world that they are not being pushed around.

One such occasion was their withdrawal from negotiations about intermediate-range missiles, to which, I believe, they will not return. A second is the expected deployment of Soviet missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and stepped up deployment of missile-carrying submarines off American shores. Yet these gestures of Soviet determination, in my view, will not suffice to satisfy the aims of the Soviet leaders.

The risk that they will take a dangerous gamble is heightened by nationalist pressures.

Some kind of public opinion does exist in the Soviet Union and affects policy. The views that count circulate in the largest cities, through the party and government apparatus, and, most important, among the various elites. The unrelent-

ing attack on America in the press and on television has created an atmosphere in which the elites, the apparatchiks and at least some people in Moscow and Leningrad expect their leaders to act forcefully. In this, the Soviet leadership is a captive of its own rhetoric.

Some American leaders consider the present situation between the superpowers as "normal." In my view they are very wrong. In a world bristling with nuclear arms it cannot be normal to identify American security with a crude anti-communist crusade and to impose simplistic ideology on practical policy toward Moscow.

If steps are not taken on both sides to redefine what is "normal" in U.S.-Soviet relations, dangers will multiply. One long-range danger is the real possibility that arms control and the stability of superpower nuclear forces will be sacrificed to the search on both sides for an impossible condition of total security, not to speak of illusory military superiority. Only incurable fanatics would deny that the two superpowers in the nuclear age must "manage" their conflict. Yet the simple truth is that they are not managing it.

In part because of Soviet domestic problems, what the Russians call "the international correlation of forces" has shifted in favor of the United States. In short, the Russians are in a hole. It would be tempting to relax with satisfaction at their plight, if doing so were not so dangerous in the nuclear age. Any knowledgeable observer of the Soviet Union would probably agree that the Russians will not consent to remaining in a hole for long.

Their struggle to re-emerge will only increase the risks and dangers of an already inflammatory international situation. America must use its advantages to promote the cause of peace without having illusions about the toughness of its adversaries. To advance a closed-minded ideological position with inflated, or even suddenly tempered, rhetoric is to abandon the obligation to maneuver the conflict away from the abyss.

The writer is professor of political science and director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University. This article was adapted by *The New York Times* from an essay in *The New York Review of Books*.

Played Out at 65? The Third Quarter Is Still Open

By Alan Pifer

NEW YORK — Age 65 is obsolete as a basis of policy, thanks to improved health and startling increases in longevity. And yet the prevailing belief in America is that age 65 has some special significance — that people are just late middle-aged until they reach their 65th birthday, when they suddenly become elderly.

The great majority of Americans don't age significantly until they are well into their 70s. Until then they are vigorous, sound of mind and body and keen to lead active, contributing lives — not at all like the elderly of earlier times, when nearly anyone who reached 65 really was old.

The legal retirement age has been raised to 70, but that act of political expediency had little significance. The participation of older people in the labor force has continued to decline, partly as a result of personal choice but also because of the pervasive myths that encourage it.

The mystique of age 65 obscures a growing contradiction between the increased longevity and vigor of older Americans and attitudes and policies that encourage increasingly early retirement. Discrimination in employment on account of age is banned, and it is said, at least publicly, that the aim is to keep people in the labor force as long as possible. And yet Social Security benefits can be drawn at age 62 and a penalty is imposed on beneficiaries under 72 who exceed the allowable earned income. Privately, many employers, through a subtle combination of pressure and financial inducement, are getting rid of older workers to make way for less senior, less costly and allegedly more adaptable younger workers.

The need is to rethink attitudes

toward retirement age so that public and private business policies are better attuned to the realities of our time. I propose speaking of the "third quarter" of life, as embracing people from the ages of 50 to 75.

That notion may be somewhat startling in its assumption that most of us are likely to live to be 100, but it makes far more sense from a policy standpoint than the arbitrary classification of pre- and post-65-year-olds.

For most people the early 30s are a major turning point. Their children have grown up and left home, they have reached their maximum real earning power, are unlikely to be promoted again and are restless and often bored with their jobs. They need a major change of career — "reporting," so to speak — to stimulate new interests that they can pursue well into their 70s. During that span the chances are high that they will stay vigorous, healthy and mentally alert, and, if given the chance, will continue to be productive.

Does this mean that they should continue in full-time, paid employment for the entire third quarter? Not at all. That concept of productivity is also obsolete. In the future, the notion of productivity must be broadened to include part-time as well as full-time paid work and full- and part-time volunteer jobs. Most important, there must be a social expectation that people will remain productive throughout the third quarter of their lives and will be accepted by younger people as contributing, fully involved members of the community.

Society needs to regard third-quarter citizens as an asset rather than a

burden. Government and business should help by providing equal access to retraining, phased retirement, greater flexibility in the use of public and private pension benefits, greatly expanded public service employment and better organized volunteer jobs.

Some of these changes would cost money, but they would also produce substantial savings by using older people's skills, experience and reliability and by cutting health costs. The more active and productive their lives, the healthier they will be. And as older workers, through the challenge provided by new careers, begin to reverse the trend toward early retirement, the growing burden on the Social Security system will be eased.

There are 50 million third-quarter Americans today — more than a fifth of the population. In another three decades, there will be 85 million — nearly a third of the population.

The writer, president emeritus of the Carnegie Corporation, contributed this article to *The New York Times*.

Do Voters Link Cause And Effect?

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Abraham Lincoln never met Ronald Reagan. When Lincoln said, "You can fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time," the Great Emancipator never imagined the Great Communicator.

It is apparently Mr. Reagan's belief that words can not only cloak reality, but remake it. In the space of 48 hours last week, Lebanon was transformed — in his mind — from a bastion of democracy and an outpost of freedom into a place that was fit only for target practice from the battleship New Jersey's biggest guns.

The "redemption" of the marines — whose mission was folly from the beginning — is supposed to wipe out the memory of the decision that sent them in. It is the same sort of mind-game that allowed Mr. Reagan, in the State of the Union address, to brag about the record number of Americans who found work in 1983, without noting that most had lost their previous jobs since he got his.

More and more it is clear that Mr. Reagan's political calculus is that the voters are unable to link cause and effect, or make any connection between general policy and specific effect. He is betting, in short, that most people's minds are like his own, heavily responsive to symbol and almost immune to logic.

The belief in the White House is that once the marines are out of their bunkers and beyond the range of snipers, terrorists and hostile artillery, the American people will not notice the wreckage of Reagan policy in Lebanon and the Middle East.

The assumption is that the record by John F. Kennedy, who knew Mr. Reagan very well, He managed his 1976 bid for the presidency and was in the same job in 1980, until his excessive candor got him in ditch with the Reagan family and the inner circle of California aides.

In an interview with *The Washington Post* the day after Mr. Reagan ordered the marines withdrawn, Mr. Sears said, "He'll just walk away from this and not look back. The Democrats will try to get him on the leadership issue and accuse him of getting himself into a bad situation, but he won't respond or even acknowledge that it was his fault."

By November, no one will remember how he came to put the marines there in the first place.

It is the same separation of cause and effect, the same denial of logic, the same substitution of symbol for substance that underlies Mr. Reagan's approach to the domestic policy dilemma of the budget deficit.

Four years ago, in the Republican primaries, John H. Anderson and George Bush argued that Mr. Reagan's numbers did not add up; you could not increase defense spending and cut taxes as much as he proposed to do without running up huge deficits. He defeated them but did not disprove them. Today the chairman of his own council of economic advisers, Martin Feldstein, says the same thing. Mr. Reagan can muddle him but cannot show that he is wrong.

Mr. Reagan's response to the repeated demonstrations of the fallacy in his own policy is not what logic would suggest. Rather than re-examine the roots of that policy by rethinking the tax and military decisions, he pretends to be the public's best friend and the balanced budget amendment and the line-item veto — as if they would solve the contradictions in his own policy.

Once again his political advisers base their tactics on removing or avoiding the specific irritant to the public, and hoping that the policy failure will not be noticed.

Deficits are a boring abstraction, says Senator Paul Laxalt, the Nevada Republican and Reagan campaign chairman. People "can't relate to those huge numbers," he says. As long as interest rates do not rise, the public will not care, Reaganites hope.

The election will tell us whether Ronald Reagan or Abraham Lincoln has judged the public's credulity correctly. Meanwhile, shed a tear for those inside this administration who must try to reconcile the realities of the world with the romantic notions floating inside Mr. Reagan's head.

It is the belief of these men that Mr. Reagan can only be effective in persuading the public so long as he believes he is being true to his own convictions. "The script has to make sense to him," one of them once told me, using the metaphor of Mr. Reagan's political career as a play. "This is why we at Powell Duffryn go out our way to talk to analysts and institutional shareholders on a scale which some might otherwise feel is inappropriate to a business of our size."

Could it be, I wonder, that Mr. Haggerty's anonymous analyst was talking the trouble to find out what that group comprising 10,000 people on four continents is five-headed lion in goods and services, year of "boring" is simply, in my view, deplaying his own ignorance.

R.D.C. Haggerty
Financial Director
Powell Duffryn
London

...the writer is professor of political science and director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University. This article was adapted by *The New York Times* from an essay in *The New York Review of Books*.

reliant to state his views openly. Powell Duffryn is a diverse industrial company and many analysts have found difficulty in following our activities as a whole because the tendency is for them to specialize in individual industrial sectors. In fact, this is why we at Powell Duffryn go out our way to talk to analysts and institutional shareholders on a scale which some might otherwise feel is inappropriate to a business of our size.

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R.D.C. Haggerty
Financial Director
Powell Duffryn
London

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Reading of Sarajevo

Regarding the editorial "The Pistol of Sarajevo" (HT, Feb. 6):

The Black Hand, whose activities the editorial describes as "terrorist," consisted of officers of the Serbian army supporting the liberation movement of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Neither Sarajevo nor the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina ever "belonged" to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A kingdom since the 10th century, the country was defeated and occupied by the Ottoman Empire. After the Turks were defeated by the Austro-Hungarians in the 1870s, the Congress of Berlin (1878) declared that Austro-Hungary was "mandated by Europe" to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. But in 1908 the Austro-Hungarians simply annexed the country.

The visit of Archduke Francis Ferdinand — heir to the Austro-Hungarian imperial crown — on June 28,

No, Some Aren't Bored

Regarding the business report "Hanson Trust Acquires Stake in Powell Duffryn" (HT, Jan. 31) by Bob Haggerty:

It was interesting to note that Mr. Haggerty quoted Robert Haville of James Capel & Co. by name, but that the analyst who made disparaging remarks about Powell Duffryn was allowed to remain anonymous. Was this perhaps because the analyst was

ECONOMIC SCENE

By GUY MARTY

The Real Estate Market in France: Why Investors Are Paying the Piper

PARIS — It has become commonplace in France to blame the sad state of property investments on the 1982 Quillot law, which strengthened the rights of tenants, and, to a lesser degree, on the new wealth tax. However, looking farther afield than these two immediate and imposing factors, there are some deeper-rooted reasons for the current morose mood in the real estate market.

It is perhaps useful to note that from 1914 to 1955, a period of more than 40 years, the property market was a deplorable area for investment, losing value year after year. In the light of this, it is easier to understand the spectacular upturn from 1955 until recent years, a natural and vigorous filling-up of the vacuum between real values and the inordinately low quoted market values.

It would seem, then, that to take the trend of only the last 15 or 20 years as a long-term indicator for reference or forecasts. So what sort of trend can we now reasonably expect?

For decades, the state has been the piper calling his own tunes as far as the French property market is concerned.

At the outset of World War I, as a measure to support soldiers sent off to the front lines, and to protect their families from hardship, a rent freeze was initiated. This was entirely understandable (except, perhaps, the fact that all rents were frozen). But even after the war, the freeze continued in effect year after year, government after government.

This led to despondent landlords, to buildings in poor states of repair and to very little new construction. On top of that were the destructive effects of World War II. In 1948, France suddenly was confronted with an acute shortage of housing, in a period when rents as a proportion of the family budget represented hardly more than that allocated to buying tobacco.

Reverse Direction

The authorities then started things going in the reverse direction, and landlords were no longer seen as shameful profiteers but as benevolent investors who the country needed very badly. The same period saw the freezing of rents for new buildings, establishment of credit facilities for families who wished to buy their own homes, and numerous fiscal incentives.

By 1955 the trend was upward as other factors added to the expanding demand. These included the economic boom that manifested itself in higher purchasing power for families, which then took advantage of the circumstances to buy better housing. The colonial strife in Algeria, with the resulting return of numerous French nationals, and the general migrations from the country and into cities and towns added to the demand as well.

Under the combined effect of favorable state intervention and the rosier economic factors the upward trend was uninterrupted for 20 years, and this has doubtless made a considerable impression on attitudes and habits. While rents, in terms of purchasing power, increased by a factor of seven between 1948 and 1970, they have found themselves slowly but surely eroded, losing 20 percent between 1960 and 1984.

Wheels Grind to Halt

From the standpoint of economics it would be difficult to envisage rents attaining any higher proportion than they enjoy at present in family budgets. The motor that was keeping the wheels of property investment turning eventually ground to a halt. In addition to this, the state now limits any rent increases to 80 percent of an index of construction costs, which itself does not keep pace with the rate of inflation.

So where does Quillot's law fit into all of this? It continues to promote conflict between landlords and tenants instead of encouraging them to be amiable partners in what, after all, is a quite normal economic exchange. From a long-term view, there can be no doubt that it is here that we find the real problem in property investment in France. In the short term, the Quillot law was merely a psychological detonator that put an end to a rising trend that was about to stop anyway.

(The author is a French specialist on savings and investment.)

International Herald Tribune

CURRENCY RATES

Rate interbank rates on Feb. 10, excluding fees.
Official findings for Amsterdam, Brussels, Milan, Paris, New York rates at 4:00 pm EST.

	\$	D.M.	F.F.	R.L.	G.M.	S.F.	Y.
Amsterdam	3.695	4.381	172.25	36.66	1.853	5.508	138.74
Brussels	36.32	79.63	38.483	6.683	3.286	18.772	25.22
London	2.240	3.285	122.57	1.225	88.49	4.882	122.85
Paris	1.415	1.678	61.758	11.748	2.877	4.232	79.39
Milan	1.491.08	2.392.40	61.579	280.12	—	34.529	30.657
New York	1.075	2.762	8.25	1.858	3.023	5.17	2.825
Porto	8.44	11.85	387.20	—	1.992	27.28	15.09
Tokyo	24.275	27.14	85.25	27.75	13.07	75.54	41.64
Zurich	2.245	3.161	87.40	26.42	1.132	72.25	3.9718
1 ECU	0.8714	0.5781	2.244	4.963	1.262.83	2.501	45.969
1 SDR	1.4828	1.75372	2.8218	4.782	1.259.42	2.276	35.264

Dollar Values

	U.S.	Swiss	Irish	U.S.	Swiss	Irish
Denmark	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Australia	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Belgium	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Canada	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
France	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Germany	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Italy	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Japan	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Netherlands	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Portugal	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Spain	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Sweden	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
Switzerland	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
United Kingdom	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887
United States	1.055	1.055	1.055	0.887	0.887	0.887

5 Starline: 1.258 Irish
(a) Commercial (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound (c) Amounts needed to buy one dollar
Units of 100 (a) Units of 1,000 (b) Units of 100
N.A.: not quoted; N.A.: not available.

INTEREST RATES

Eurocurrency Deposits Feb. 10

	D-Mark	Swiss	French	ECU	SDR
1M	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8
3M	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8
6M	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8	9 1/8
1Y	10 1/8	10 1/8	10 1/8	10 1/8	10 1/8

Rates applicable to interbank deposits of \$10 million minimum (or equivalent).

Key Money Rates

United States

	Rate	Prev.
Discount Rate	9 1/2	9 1/2
Federal Funds	9 1/2	9 1/2
Prime Rate	11 1/2	11 1/2
Broker Loan Rate	10 1/2	10 1/2
Comm. Paper, 30-90 days	9 1/2	9 1/2
3-month Treasury Bills	9 1/2	9 1/2
6-month Treasury Bills	9 1/2	9 1/2
12-month Treasury Bills	9 1/2	9 1/2
CDs, 30-90 days	9 1/2	9 1/2
CDs, 6-90 days	9 1/2	9 1/2

West Germany

	Rate	Prev.
Lombard Rate	5.50	5.50
Overnight Rate	5.50	5.50
One Month Interbank	5.50	5.50
Three Month Interbank	5.50	5.50
Six Month Interbank	5.50	5.50

Japan

	Rate	Prev.
Discount Rate	5	5
Call Money	6 1/4	6 1/4
60-day Interbank	6 1/4	6 1/4

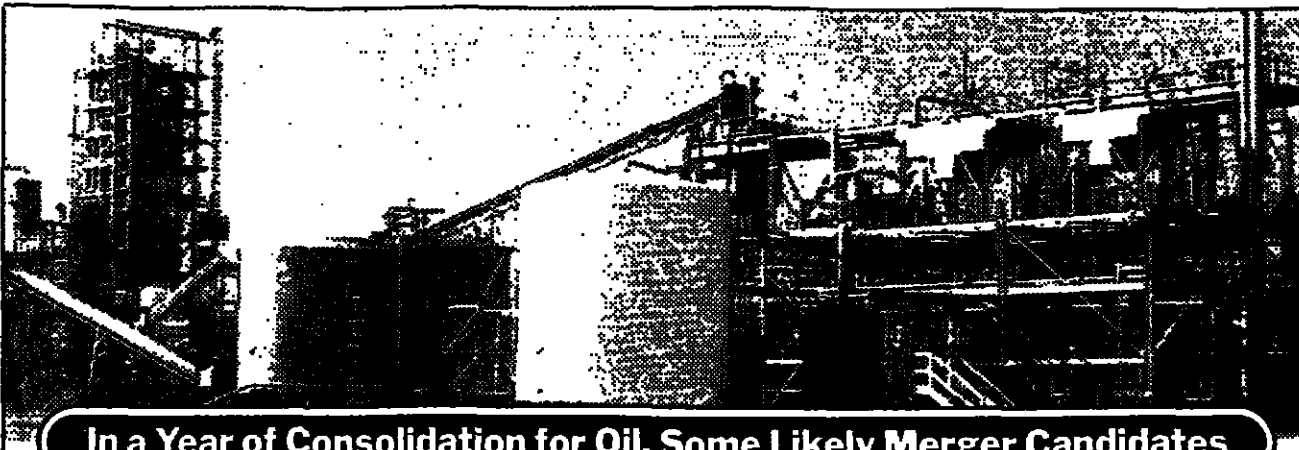
Sources: Commercial Bank of Tokyo, Japan Bank.

The Daily Source for International Investors.

Herald Tribune

Bank Closings

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York and many U.S. banks will be closed Monday for a holiday.



In a Year of Consolidation for Oil, Some Likely Merger Candidates

	52-Week High (\$/share)	52-Week Low (\$/share)	Feb. 8 Close (\$/share)	Oil Reserves (thou. bbl.)	In U.S.	Gas Reserves (bbl. cu. ft.)	In U.S.
Getty Oil*	126	51 1/4	125 1/4	1,952	84%	2,741	87%
Shell Oil*	56 3/4	34 1/4	55 1/4	2,312	95%	7,548	97%
Amerasia Hess	34 1/4	20 1/4	28 1/4	772	34%	2,144	46%
Kerr-McGee	37 1/4	27 1/4	33 1/4	137	44%	858	86%
Louisiana Land	34 1/4	23 1/4	29 1/4	96	72%	490	96%
Sun Company	55 1/4	30 1/4	48 1/4	783	88%	3,634	87%
Superior Oil	42 1/4	30	39 1/4	268	52%	4,417	42%

* Getty's management has accepted a \$128 a share takeover offer from Texaco Inc.
* The Royal Dutch/Shell Group has offered \$55 a share for the 31 percent of Shell Oil it does not already own.

Oil Firms in U.S. Looking for Mergers

By Thomas J. Lueck

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After a single month, 1984 is already the year of the merger for the oil industry. And oilmen, expecting a modest upturn after six years of falling oil demand, are virtually certain of more takeover action to come.

"Everybody is looking around," said George M. Keller, the chairman of Standard Oil Co. of California, the fourth-largest energy concern in the United States. Adds William F. Randol, an analyst for First Boston Corp., "It's like a square dance with everybody lining up on different sides of the floor."

An obvious, but nonetheless important, reason for all of this is that the world is running out of oil. And with the cost of exploration rising rapidly, it is often cheaper, as the saying goes, to "find oil on Wall Street than in the ground."

But this year, the appeal of consolidation for the industry runs deeper. Flush with cash, and facing a tolerant federal antitrust posture, several of the largest oil companies are looking for investments. They are also said to be trying to avoid the diversification that took them, unsuccessfully, to other industries.

Speculation rises that Pickens may be on the verge of Gulf takeover bid. Page 13.

Successfully for the most part, into retailing, electronics and mining during the 1970s. And economists say that for the first time since 1978, U.S. oil demand has stopped falling, and is expected to rise a bit this year and remain relatively stable for the rest of the decade. Fears of a collapse in oil prices, therefore, have largely been allayed, and companies with reserves in the ground have become that much more attractive as takeover targets.

So even though January saw two of the largest takeover bids in corporate history — the \$10.1-billion offer by Texaco Inc. to acquire Getty Oil Co. and Royal Dutch/Shell Group's \$5.2-billion offer for the 31 percent of Shell Oil Co. it does not own — most analysts expect more merger proposals this year.

What happened in January was the catalyst, said John Olsen of Drexel Burnham Lambert. He and his colleagues have been compiling lists of takeover candidates that commonly include Superior Oil Co., Louisiana Land Co., Sun Co., Kerr-McGee Corp. and Amerasia Hess Corp.

Still another trend the analysts are watching for is the possible increasing use of royalty trusts, in which oil companies put certain of their producing properties and the revenues (Continued on Page 13, Col. 1)

Bonn Banking Changes May Spur Adjustments

By Thomas J. Lueck

New York Times Service

FRANKFURT — Amendments to West Germany's banking law agreed to by the cabinet this week have caused speculation that some mortgage-bank operations may be reorganized or some mortgage banks may become publicly held, some bankers said Friday.

Under the amendments, which now go to the Bundestag, banks must adhere to consolidated lending ratios on all subsidiaries that are at least 40 percent owned, including mortgage-banking affiliates.

The large commercial banks conduct their mortgage lending through subsidiaries. Wednesday's cabinet debate on the mortgage issue was heated, and Economics Minister Otto Lambrecht declined to vote.

Many banks, and Mr. Lambrecht and his Free Democratic Party, contend that the risks in mortgage lending do not rank on a par with corporate or international credit business.

But Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg pushed through the consolidation of mortgage subsidiaries. Some banks now acknowledge publicly that the need to consolidate balances of mortgage operations would push them above the requirement limiting banks to lend no more than 18 times their basic capital.

Market attention centers on the 100-percent owned mortgage subsidiary of Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank, the clearing bank of the cooperative-banking system.

A leading banker suggested that DG Bank's Hamburg-based mortgage subsidiary, Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank's Hypothek Bank AG, one of West Germany's largest, should be partly sold to other cooperative banks or should sell its shares to the public.

Arnold Kramer, chairman of Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank's Zentralbank AG, a shareholder of DG Bank, told a press conference (Continued on Page 13, Col. 7)

Dollar Eases After Early Rise

By Thomas J. Lueck

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The dollar posted an early advance Friday in reaction to the death of President Yuri V. Andropov of the Soviet Union but then drifted lower as dealers decided to wait for the dust to settle.

The dollar rose after the Federal Reserve reported a \$3-billion rise in the narrowest measure of the money supply, but then immediately came back to where it was before.

Gold, after gaining initially, fell back to close almost unchanged on the day. Gold stayed in step in London and Zurich, closing \$5 lower at \$378.50 an ounce in both centers against the identical Thursday closings of \$383.50.

In late trading in New York, the dollar was quoted at 2.7423 Deutsche marks, down slightly from 2.7438 on Thursday. The French franc strengthened to 8.425 from the previous day's 8.4325, and the British pound edged higher to \$1.4175 from \$1.4155. The yen eased to 234.30 from 234.25.

NYSE Holds On to Modest Gain

By Thomas J. Lueck

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The New York Stock Exchange wound up its worst week in more than 15 months Friday with a modest gain but trading slowed considerably reflecting investor concern about a jump in wholesale prices.

IBM and some other blue-chip issues paced the less-than-spectacular rebound. But utilities came under fire again because of another nuclear plant controversy.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which fell 3.56 Thursday to a 10-month low, rebounded 7.96 to 1,160.70. But the closely watched average plunged 36.33 for the week overall, the worst setback since it fell 39.74 in the week ended Oct. 29, 1982.

Advances topped declines 908-

Producer Prices In U.S. Climb 0.6% in Month

By John M. Berry

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A big 2.7 percent increase in food prices last month pushed up the U.S. producer price index for finished goods to its largest one-month rise in more than a year, the Labor Department reported Friday.

Energy prices, which are counted generally with a one-month lag, continued to fall, but the 1.2-percent drop was not nearly enough to offset the impact of higher food prices.

The seasonally adjusted 0.6-percent increase in the index followed rises of 0.2 percent in November and 0.1 percent in December, the department said. The latter figure was revised downward from the 0.2 percent increase originally reported.

The increase in food prices, the largest since August, 1980, was led by a 9.2-percent rise in pork prices, a 7-percent increase in vegetable prices and a 3.2-percent increase in beef prices.

Analysts had expected an unusually harsh winter in the South and parts of the Midwest to boost food prices at the producer level, but not by nearly as much as the report showed.

At the White House, a spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, played down the increase in producer prices, saying, "This is just a one-month increase due primarily to the harsh winter and its impact on food supplies." He noted that producer prices other than for food were unchanged over the past four months. "We're confident inflation remains under control," he said.

However, next month's report will pick up a big increase in home-heating oil and diesel-fuel prices that is certain to end the string of

declines in the energy part of the index, analysts said.

The January figures showed gasoline prices down a sharp 1.6 percent, about the same as in the previous two months, and home-heating-oil prices down 3.4 percent, more than double the two previous months' declines. Natural gas prices rose 0.9 percent.

Over the last 12 months, energy prices have fallen 6.9 percent.

U.S. M-1 Rises By \$3 Billion

By Thomas J. Lueck

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The narrowest measure of the U.S. money supply rose \$3 billion in the week ended Feb. 1, the Federal Reserve said Friday. In the credit markets, prices fell Friday for the sixth consecutive session.

The rise was in line with most analysts' expectations. A broader measure of money — M-2 — rose a moderate \$7.8 billion in January. Neither measure included so-called benchmark revisions that the Federal Reserve makes periodically to reflect data from regional banks not surveyed weekly. The benchmarks will be included in data next week when the Fed will switch from Friday reporting to Thursday.

M-1 comprises cash, checking and similar accounts. In the latest 13 weeks, M-1 has averaged a 3.3-percent annualized rate of gain. M-2 includes M-1 plus passbook savings, small time deposits, including money-market deposit accounts, money-market mutual funds and certain other short-term assets.

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Bank Closings

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York and many U.S. banks will be closed Monday for a holiday.

NYSE Most Actives

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
IBM	162.00	161.00	161.50	161.50	+0.50
AT&T	51.00	50.50	50.75	50.75	+0.25
GE	34.00	33.50	33.75	33.75	+0.25
Westing	32.00	31.50	31.75	31.75	+0.25
Verizon	31.00	30.50	30.75	30.75	+0.25
Merck	29.00	28.50	28.75	28.75	+0.25
Johnson	28.00	27.50	27.75	27.75	+0.25
Boeing	27.00	26.50	26.75	26.75	+0.25
McDonald	26.00	25.50	25.75	25.75	+0.25
Wal-Mart	25.00	24.50	24.75	24.75	+0.25
Target	24.00	23.50	23.75	23.75	+0.25
Wendy's	23.00	22.50	22.75	22.75	+0.25
Oldemark	22.00	21.50	21.75	21.75	+0.25
AMCO	21.00	20.50	20.75	20.75	+0.25
AMCO	20.00	19.50	19.75	19.75	+0.25
AMCO	19.00	18.50	18.75	18.75	+0.25
AMCO	18.00	17.50	17.75	17.75	+0.25
AMCO	17.00	16.50	16.75	16.75	+0.25
AMCO	16.00	15.50	15.75	15.75	+0.25
AMCO	15.00	14.50	14.75	14.75	+0.25
AMCO	14.00	13.50	13.75	13.75	+0.25
AMCO	13.00	12.50	12.75	12.75	+0.25
AMCO	12.00	11.50	11.75	11.75	+0.25
AMCO	11.00	10.50	10.75	10.75	+0.25
AMCO	10.00	9.50	9.75	9.75	+0.25
AMCO	9.00	8.50	8.75	8.75	+0.25
AMCO	8.00	7.50	7.75	7.75	+0.25
AMCO	7.00	6.50	6.75	6.75	+0.25
AMCO	6.00	5.50	5.75	5.75	+0.25
AMCO	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	+0.25
AMCO	4.00	3.50	3.75	3.75	+0.25
AMCO	3.00	2.50	2.75	2.75	+0.25
AMCO	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	+0.25
AMCO	1.00	0.50	0.75	0.75	+0.25
AMCO	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+0.00

Dow Jones Averages

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Indus	1152.50	1147.50	1149.50	1149.50	+2.50
Trans	512.50	507.50	509.50	509.50	+2.50
Comp	455.50	450.50	452.50	452.50	+2.50

NYSE Index

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Composite	901.50	896.50	898.50	898.50	+0.50
Indus	100.50	100.00	100.25	100.25	+0.25
Trans	50.50	50.00	50.25	50.25	+0.25
Comp	45.50	45.00	45.25	45.25	+0.25

Friday's NYSE Closing

Vol. of 4 p.m. 72,200,000
Prev. 4 p.m. Vol. 72,310,000
Prev. Consolidated Close 148,224.79

AMEX Most Actives

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Advanced	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
Declined	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	-0.03
Unchanged	0.90	0.85	0.87	0.87	+0.02
Total Issues	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
New Issues	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	+0.02
Volume	1,000,000	950,000	970,000	970,000	+20,000
Volume down	950,000	900,000	870,000	870,000	+20,000

NASDAQ Index

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Composite	254.50	253.50	254.00	254.00	+0.50
Indus	125.50	124.50	125.00	125.00	+0.50
Trans	62.50	61.50	62.00	62.00	+0.50
Comp	66.50	65.50	66.00	66.00	+0.50

AMEX Stock Index

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Composite	254.50	253.50	254.00	254.00	+0.50
Indus	125.50	124.50	125.00	125.00	+0.50
Trans	62.50	61.50	62.00	62.00	+0.50
Comp	66.50	65.50	66.00	66.00	+0.50

NYSE Diaries

Diary	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Advanced	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
Declined	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	-0.03
Unchanged	0.90	0.85	0.87	0.87	+0.02
Total Issues	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
New Issues	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	+0.02
Volume	1,000,000	950,000	970,000	970,000	+20,000
Volume down	950,000	900,000	870,000	870,000	+20,000

Odd-Lot Trading In N.Y.

Odd-Lot	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Advanced	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
Declined	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	-0.03
Unchanged	0.90	0.85	0.87	0.87	+0.02
Total Issues	1.00	0.95	0.97	0.97	+0.02
New Issues	0.95	0.90	0.92	0.92	+0.02
Volume	1,000,000	950,000	970,000	970,000	+20,000
Volume down	950,000	900,000	870,000	870,000	+20,000

Standard & Pools Index

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Indus	125.50	124.50	125.00	125.00	+0.50
Trans	62.50	61.50	62.00	62.00	+0.50
Comp	66.50	65.50	66.00	66.00	+0.50

Table Includes the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street

12 Month High Low Stock

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
IBM	162.00	161.00	161.50	161.50	+0.50
AT&T	51.00	50.50	50.75	50.75	+0.25
GE	34.00	33.50	33.75	33.75	+0.25
Westing	32.00	31.50	31.75	31.75	+0.25
Verizon	31.00	30.50	30.75	30.75	+0.25
Merck	29.00	28.50	28.75	28.75	+0.25
Johnson	28.00	27.50	27.75	27.75	+0.25
Boeing	27.00	26.50	26.75	26.75	+0.25
McDonald	26.00	25.50	25.75	25.75	+0.25
Wal-Mart	25.00	24.50	24.75	24.75	+0.25
Target	24.00	23.50	23.75	23.75	+0.25
Wendy's	23.00	22.50	22.75	22.75	+0.25
Oldemark	22.00	21.50	21.75	21.75	+0.25
AMCO	21.00	20.50	20.75	20.75	+0.25
AMCO	20.00	19.50	19.75	19.75	+0.25
AMCO	19.00	18.50	18.75	18.75	+0.25
AMCO	18.00	17.50	17.75	17.75	+0.25
AMCO	17.00	16.50	16.75	16.75	+0.25
AMCO	16.00	15.50	15.75	15.75	+0.25
AMCO	15.00	14.50	14.75	14.75	+0.25
AMCO	14.00	13.50	13.75	13.75	+0.25
AMCO	13.00	12.50	12.75	12.75	+0.25
AMCO	12.00	11.50	11.75	11.75	+0.25
AMCO	11.00	10.50	10.75	10.75	+0.25
AMCO	10.00	9.50	9.75	9.75	+0.25
AMCO	9.00	8.50	8.75	8.75	+0.25
AMCO	8.00	7.50	7.75	7.75	+0.25
AMCO	7.00	6.50	6.75	6.75	+0.25
AMCO	6.00	5.50	5.75	5.75	+0.25
AMCO	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	+0.25
AMCO	4.00	3.50	3.75	3.75	+0.25
AMCO	3.00	2.50	2.75	2.75	+0.25
AMCO	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	+0.25
AMCO	1.00	0.50	0.75	0.75	+0.25
AMCO	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+0.00

12 Month High Low Stock

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
IBM	162.00	161.00	161.50	161.50	+0.50
AT&T	51.00	50.50	50.75	50.75	+0.25
GE	34.00	33.50	33.75	33.75	+0.25
Westing	32.00	31.50	31.75	31.75	+0.25
Verizon	31.00	30.50	30.75	30.75	+0.25
Merck	29.00	28.50	28.75	28.75	+0.25
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AMCO	19.00	18.50	18.75	18.75	+0.25
AMCO	18.00	17.50	17.75	17.75	+0.25
AMCO	17.00	16.50	16.75	16.75	+0.25
AMCO	16.00	15.50	15.75	15.75	+0.25
AMCO	15.00	14.50	14.75	14.75	+0.25
AMCO	14.00	13.50	13.75	13.75	+0.25
AMCO	13.00	12.50	12.75	12.75	+0.25
AMCO	12.00	11.50	11.75	11.75	+0.25
AMCO	11.00	10.50	10.75	10.75	+0.25
AMCO	10.00	9.50	9.75	9.75	+0.25
AMCO	9.00	8.50	8.75	8.75	+0.25
AMCO	8.00	7.50	7.75	7.75	+0.25
AMCO	7.00	6.50	6.75	6.75	+0.25
AMCO	6.00	5.50	5.75	5.75	+0.25
AMCO	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	+0.25
AMCO	4.00	3.50	3.75	3.75	+0.25
AMCO	3.00	2.50	2.75	2.75	+0.25
AMCO	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	+0.25
AMCO	1.00	0.50	0.75	0.75	+0.25
AMCO	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+0.00

12 Month High Low Stock

15%	11	Digital	44	51	13
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
15%	11	DIGIO	2.25	2.25	0
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Companies

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the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 35 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

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